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HANDBOOK OF PAINTING.

THE

ITALIAN SCHOOLS.

BASED ON THE HANDBOOK OF KUGLER.

ORIGINALLY EDITED

By THE LATE SIR CHARLES L. EASTLAKE, P.R.A.

FOURTH EDITION.

REVISED AND REMODELLED FROM THE LATEST RESEARCHES,

By LADY EASTLAKE.

With Illustrations.

IN TWO PARTS.—PART I.

LONDON:
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.

1874.

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LONDON :
PRINTED BY WILLIAM CLOWES AND SONS,
STAMFORD STREET AND CHARING CROSS.

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PREFACE TO THE PRESENT EDITION.

It is now more than forty years since the materials for a History of the Italian Schools of Painting were collected by Herr Kugler of Berlin, a gentleman of high reputation among the German Art-critics who, at that time, led the way in ardour and thoroughness of investigation. These materials were first presented by him to the German public in 1837, under the title of 'Handbook of the History of Painting from the Age of Constantine to the Present Times.' In 1841 an English translation by a Lady, edited by Sir Charles Eastlake, was published in this country. This supplied a need which the increasing attention to the history of Painting, and especially the new and growing interest in the early Italian schools, had made apparent. In 1847 a fresh edition of the German work appeared, especially enriched with a fuller description of the Catacomb wall-paintings, and of the early Christian mosaics, by the pen of Dr. Jacob Burckhardt. This, in its turn, with the revision of Sir Charles Eastlake, assumed an English form, appeared as a second edition in 1851, and was succeeded by a third edition in 1855, which has remained the chief guide of the English traveller in Italy.

In no department of history, however, have more important changes and additions been made, during the last twenty years, than in that of the Italian schools of Painting. The results are shown in numerous and remarkable accessions to the National Gallery of England, and also in the gradually correcting nomenclature which is taking place in all collections of the old masters. Kugler's Handbook, therefore, though embodying much that is permanent,

had ceased to represent the standard knowledge of the day. A new edition, with considerable alterations and extensions, is now presented to the public. The fresh matter imported into it, as well as the corrections of the old text, are derived chiefly from two sources :—firstly, from the five volumes of the ‘History of Painting in Italy,’ hitherto published by Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, whose researches have, in many respects, created a revolution in the history of early Art, but who, however, stop, for the present, short of some of the greatest names of the Cinque-cento; and secondly, from the careful notes by the late Sir Charles Eastlake, collected during his frequent visits to Italy. The valuable memoranda of the late Mr. Mündler also, as embodied in the ‘Cicerone for Italy,’ a work compiled by Dr. Jacob Burckhardt, edited by Dr. v. Zahn, and translated by Mrs. A. H. Clough, have been consulted.

It remains only to be said that the original notes to Kugler’s Handbook, supplied by Sir Charles L. Eastlake, and designated by the signature “Ed.,” will now be recognised, when not embodied in the text, by the initials C. L. E.

LONDON, *May* 1874.

PREFACE BY SIR CHARLES L. EASTLAKE TO
FIRST ENGLISH EDITION.

IN tracing the history of Painting and the different character of its schools, we find that an equal measure of the world's approbation has been sometimes awarded to productions apparently opposite in their style and aim. This is not to be explained by the variety of tastes in connoisseurs; for, allowing for all individual and peculiar predilections, the approbation in question may be admitted to be universal. This admission supposes the existence of some less mutable criterion; and it is therefore important to inquire what are its grounds.

Considered generally, the Arts are assumed to have a common character and end: this principle is, however, too vague and undefined to meet the question we have started. The opposite process—the discrimination of the different means by which a common end is arrived at—will be found to lead to more definite and intelligible results. In all the Fine Arts some external attraction, some element of beauty, is the vehicle of mental pleasure or moral interest; but in considering the special form, or means, of any one of the Arts, as distinguished from the rest, the excellence of each will be found not to arise from the qualities which it possesses in common with its rivals, but from those qualities which are peculiar to itself.

We thus comprehend why various schools have attained great celebrity in spite of certain defects. It is because their defects are generally such as other modes of expression could easily and better supply: their excellences, on the contrary, are their own, and not to be attained except in the form of art proper to them. Such excellences constitute what may be called **SPECIFIC STYLE**.

Accordingly, it may always be assumed that pictures of acknowledged merit, of whatever school, owe their reputation to the

display of qualities that belong to the art of Painting. In histories of painting these merits are often attempted to be conveyed in words, and the mode in which language endeavours to give an equivalent for the impressions produced by a picture is at once an illustration of the above principles. The changes of time, of motion, the imagined interchange of speech, the comparison with things not present—all facts beyond the scope of a silent, stationary, and immutable Art—are resorted to without scruple in describing pictures; and yet the description does not therefore strike us as untrue. It will immediately be seen that the same liberty is allowable and necessary when representation enters into rivalry with description. The eye has its own poetry; and as the mute language of nature in its *simultaneous* effect (the indispensable condition of harmony) produces impressions which words restricted to mere *succession* can but imperfectly embody, so the finest qualities of the formative arts are those which language cannot adequately convey.* On the same grounds it must be apparent that a servile attention to the letter of description, such as accuracy of historic details, exactness of costume, &c., are not essential in themselves, but are valuable only in proportion as they assist the purposes of the art, or produce an effect on the imagination. This may sufficiently explain why an inattention to these points, on the part of great painters (and poets, as compared with mere historians), has interfered so little with their reputation. In this instance, while the powers of Painting are opposed to those of language generally, they are, on the same principle, distinguished in many respects from those of Poetry; and in like manner, if we suppose a comparison with Sculpture, or with any other imitative art, the strength of Painting will still be found to consist in the attributes proper to itself. Of those attributes, some may be more prominent in one school, some in another; but they are all valued in proportion as they are characteristic—because, in short, the results are unattainable in the same perfection by any other means.

The principle here dwelt on with regard to Painting is equally applicable to all the Fine Arts: each art, as such, is raised by raising its characteristic qualities; each displays those means of expression in which its rivals are deficient, in order to compensate for those in which its rivals surpass it. The principle extends even to the rivalry of the formative Arts generally with nature. The absence of sound, and of progressive action, is supplied by a more significant, mute, and momentary *appearance*. The arrangement which, apparently artless, fixes

* See Lessing's 'Laokoon.' Compare Harris, 'Three Treatises,' London, 1744.

the attention on important points, the emphasis on essential as opposed to adventitious qualities, the power of selecting expressive forms, of arresting evanescent beauties, are all prerogatives and resources by means of which a feeble imitation successfully contends even with its great archetype. As this selection and adaptation are the qualities in which imitation, as opposed to nature, is strong, so any approach to literal rivalry is, as usual, in danger of betraying comparative weakness. Could the imitation of living objects, for example, in Painting or in Sculpture, be carried to absolute deception as regards their mere surface, we should only be the more reminded that life and motion were wanting. On the other hand, relative completeness, or that consistency of convention which suggests no want—the test of style—is attainable in the minuter as well as in the larger view of nature, and may be found in some of the Dutch as well as in the Italian masters. Even the elements of beauty, incompatible as they might seem to be with the subjects commonly treated by the Dutch, are found to reside in charm of colour, tone, chiaroscuro, and in other qualities.

The rivalry of the Arts with Nature thus suggests the definition of their *general style*. The rivalry of Art with Art points out their *specific style*. Both relate to the *means*. The *end* of the Arts is defined not only by their general nature, but by the consideration to *whom they are addressed*. The necessity of appealing, directly or indirectly, to human sympathies, as distinguished from those associations and impressions which are the result of partial or peculiar study, tends to correct an exaggerated and exclusive attention to specific style, inasmuch as the end in question is more or less common to all the Fine Arts. The Genius of Painting might award the palm to *Titian*, but human beings would be more interested with the productions of *Raphael*. The claims of the different schools are thus ultimately balanced by the degrees in which they satisfy the mind; but as the enlightened observer is apt to form his conclusions by this latter standard alone, it has been the object of these remarks to invite his attention more especially to the excellence of the Art itself, on which the celebrity of every school more or less depends, and which, whatever be its themes, recommends itself by the evidence of mental labour, and in the end increases the sum of mental pleasure.

Next to the nature of the art itself, the influence of religion, of social and political relations, and of letters, the modifying circumstances of climate and of place, the character of a nation, a school, and an individual, and even the particular object of a particular painter, are to be taken into account, and open fresh sources of

interest. With the cultivated observer, indeed, these associations are again in danger at first of superseding the consideration of the art as such; but by whatever means attention is invited, the judgment is gradually exercised, and the eye unconsciously educated.

In avoiding too precise a definition of the end of Art, it may nevertheless be well to remember, that so great a difference in the highest moral interests as that which existed between the Pagan and Christian world must of necessity involve important modifications, even in the physical elements of imitation. However imposing were the ideas of beauty and of power which the Pagan arrived at, by looking around but not above him, by deriving his religion as well as his taste from the perfect attributes of life throughout nature, the Christian definition of the human being, at least, must be admitted to rest on more just and comprehensive relations. It is true the general character of the art itself is unchangeable, and that character was never more accurately defined than in the sculpture of the ancient Greeks; but new human feelings demanded corresponding means of expression, and it was chiefly reserved for Painting to embody them. That art, as treated by the great modern masters, had not, like Sculpture, a complete model in classic examples, and was thus essentially a modern creation. The qualities in which it is distinguished from the remaining specimens of classic Painting are, in fact, nearly identified with those which constitute its specific style. Hence, when carried to a perfection probably unknown to the ancients, and purified by a spiritual aim, the result sometimes became the worthy auxiliary of a religion that hallows, but by no means interdicts, the admiration of nature.

The consideration of the influence of Religion on the Arts forces itself on the attention in investigating the progress of Painting, since so large a proportion of its creations was devoted to the service of the Church—in many instances, we fear we must add, the service of superstition. Yet the difference or abuse of creeds may be said in most cases to affect works of art only in their extrinsic conditions; the great painters were so generally penetrated with the spirit of the faith they illustrated, that the most unworthy subjects were often the vehicles of feelings to which all classes of Christians are more or less alive. The implicit recognition of apocryphal authorities is, however, not to be dissembled. Indeed some acquaintance with the legends and superstitions of the Middle Ages is as necessary to the intelligence of the contemporary works of art as the knowledge of the heathen mythology is to explain the subjects of Greek vases and marbles. Certain themes belong more

especially to particular times and places; such are the incidents from the lives of the Saints, the predilection for which varied with the devotional spirit of the age, and the habits of different countries and districts, to say nothing of successive canonizations.* Even Scripture subjects had their epochs: at first the dread of idolatry had the effect of introducing and consecrating a system of merely typical representation, and hence the characters and events of the Old Testament were long preferred to those of the New. The cycle from the latter, though augmented, like the Bible series generally, from apocryphal sources, was from first to last comparatively restricted, many subjects remaining untouched even in the best ages of Art. This is again to be explained by remembering, that while the scenes and personages of the Old Testament were understood to be figurative, those of the New were regarded as objects of direct edification, or even of homage, and hence were selected with caution.† In general, the incidents that exemplified the leading dogmas of faith were chosen in preference to others, and thus the Arts became the index of the tenets that were prominent at different periods.

The selection, or at least the treatment, of subjects from the Gospels, may have been regulated in some instances also by their assumed correspondence with certain prophecies; indeed, the circumstances alluded to in the predictions of the Old Testament are not unfrequently blended in pictures with the facts of the New. The subjects called the Deposition from the Cross, and the Pietà (the dead Christ mourned by the Marys and Disciples, or by the Madonna alone), may be thus explained.‡ Hence, too, the never-failing accompaniments of the Nativity;§ hence the “Wise Men” are represented as kings,|| and the Flight into Egypt is attended with the destruction of the idols.¶ Subjects of this class were sometimes combined in regular cycles, which, in the form they

* In altar-pieces it was common to represent Saints who lived in different ages, assembled round the enthroned Virgin and Child. This is not to be considered an anachronism, since it rather represented a heavenly than an earthly assembly. Many pictures of the kind in churches were the property or gift of private individuals, and in this case the selection of the Saints rested with the original proprietor.

† “*Picturæ ecclesiarum sunt quasi libri laicorum*,” is the observation of a writer of the twelfth century.—*Comestor, Historia Scholastica* (Hist. Evang. c. 5).

‡ Zechariah xii. 10.

§ Isaiah i. 3.

|| Psalm lxxii. 10, 11. Certain accessories in pictures of this subject are derived from Isaiah lx. 6.

¶ Isaiah xix. 1. (See Comestor, Hist. Evang. c. 10.) The incident may have been directly borrowed from an apocryphal source, the ‘*Evangelium Infantia*.’ Circumstances adopted from similar authorities were sometimes interwoven with the subjects of the New Testament.

assumed after the revival of Art, probably had their origin in the selection of meditations for the Rosary (instituted in the thirteenth century): among these were the "Joys"* and "Sorrows"† of the Virgin, and the principal events of the Passion.‡ Other themes common at the same time had their appropriate application: the History of St. John the Baptist was the constant subject in Baptistries; the chapels especially dedicated to the Virgin were adorned with scenes from her life;§ the hosts of heaven, "Thrones, Dominations, Princedoms, Virtues, Powers,"|| were sometimes introduced in cupolas; but the more customary subjects were the Ascension of Christ and the Assumption of the Virgin.¶ The sub-

* 1. The Annunciation. 2. The Visitation. 3. The Nativity. 4. The Adoration of the Kings. 5. The Presentation in the Temple. 6. Christ found by his Mother in the Temple. 7. The Assumption and Coronation of the Virgin.

† 1. The Prophecy of Simeon (Luke ii. 35). 2. The Flight into Egypt. 3. Christ, while disputing with the Doctors in the Temple, missed by his Mother. 4. Christ betrayed. 5. The Crucifixion (the Virgin and St. John only present). 6. The Deposition from the Cross. 7. The Ascension (the Virgin left on earth).

‡ The 'Seven Hours of the Passion' were:—1. The Last Supper. 2. The Agony in the Garden. 3. Christ before Caiaphas. 4. Christ before Herod. 5. Christ crowned with Thorns. 6. Pilate washing his Hands. 7. The Crucifixion (the centurion and others present). The more complete series contained, in addition to these and other subjects:—The Flagellation. The Ecce Homo. The Procession to Calvary, or Christ bearing his Cross. The Entombment. The Descent into Limbus. The Resurrection. The Life of Christ contained, in addition to many of the above, the Baptism and Transfiguration. The Life of the Virgin, though interwoven with that of Christ, formed, for the most part, a distinct series. The subjects of all these cycles varied in number, perhaps accordingly as they were separately or collectively adapted to the divisions of the Rosary and Corona. The 'Speculum Salvationis' (Augsburg edition) assigns seven to each of the first three series in the above order. The more ordinary division was five for each.

§ See the 'Evangelium de Nativitate Mariæ,' and the 'Protevangelium Jacobi.' The subjects from the history of Joachim and Anna, the parents of the Virgin (painted by *Taddeo Gaddi*, *Domenico Ghirlandajo*, *Gaudenzio Ferrari*, and others), are chiefly in the latter.

|| The orders of angels, as represented by the Italian painters, appear to have been derived from a treatise 'De Hierarchiâ cœlesti' (c. 7-11), which bears the name of Dionysius Areopagita, and may be traced to Jewish sources. St. Thomas Aquinas (after Dionysius) gives the nine orders of angels as follows: "Seraphim, Cherubim, Throni, Dominationes, Virtutes, Potestates, Principatus, Archangeli, Angeli." *Vasari* ventured to cover a ceiling in Florence with "Illustrations" of a still profounder lore—the Cabala. See his 'Ragionamenti' (Gior. 1). Compare Brucker, 'Hist. Philosophiæ.'

¶ This last subject frequently adorned the high altar. The subject of the Death of the Virgin, which occurs in MSS. of the Middle Ages, as well as in pictures of later date, was gradually superseded by it. For the legend, see the 'Flos Sanctorum' (Aug. 25) and the 'Aurea Legenda:' both give the early authorities.

jects of the Old Testament were universally considered as types: their assumed ulterior meaning is frequently explained in glosses of MS. Bibles, and in the 'Compendiums of Theology' which were in the hands of all ecclesiastics. These commentaries contained much that may be traced to the early Fathers; but during and after the revival of Art they were more immediately derived from the scholastic theologians,* whose writings appear to have had considerable influence on the sacred Painting of Italy and Europe.

* The most renowned of these doctors were of the Dominican order (de' Predicatori); the same fraternity afterwards boasted some distinguished painters (*Angelico da Fiesole, Fra Bartolommeo, &c.*), and on many accounts may be considered the chief medium of communication between the Church and its handmaid, Art. Among the earlier commentaries on Scripture evidently consulted by the painters, was the 'Historia Scholastica' of Comestor, already referred to.

In the Editor's Preface to the second edition of this Handbook (and more especially in the reprint of that Preface in his 'Contributions to the Literature of the Fine Arts'), some works were enumerated which treat, more or less fully, of the Iconography and Legends of the Saints. But all such works may, in relation to these subjects, be now considered superseded by Mrs. Jameson's 'Poetry of Sacred and Legendary Art.' The first two volumes contain the legends of the Saints, Martyrs, &c.; the third (a separate work), the legends of the Monastic Orders; the remaining portion of the work treats of the history and legends of the Madonna.

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HANDBOOK

OF

PAINTING IN ITALY.

BOOK I.

EARLY CHRISTIAN ART.

PART I.

THE LATER ROMAN STYLE.

GREEK art sprang from Greek religion. It was art which gave the Gods form, character, and reality. The statue of Jupiter Olympius brought the Father of the Gods himself before the eyes of men. He was deemed unfortunate who died without beholding that statue. Art, among the Greeks, was an occupation of a priestly character: as it belonged to her to lift the veil of mystery which concealed the Gods, so was it also her office to exalt and consecrate the human forms under which they could alone be represented. The image of the God was no mere copy from common and variable life; it was stamped with a supernatural grandeur which raised the mind to a higher world.

In subjugating the territories of Greece to their dominion, the Romans had also reduced Greeian civilization and Greeian art to their service. Wherever their legions extended, these followed in their train. Wherever their splendid and colossal works, whether for public or private purposes, were carried on, Greek art, or such art as owed its invention originally to the Greeks, was called into requis-

tion. Every object of daily use bore its own particular impress of art. That which had been the natural product of the Grecian national mind, now, detached from its original home and purposes, assumed a more general character. The Grecian ideal of beauty became the ideal of all beauty. The types of Grecian art furnished the materials for a universal alphabet of art. And although that charm of beauty which is shed over the creations of the highest period of Greek art necessarily departed from her when she was led forth a wanderer among nations, yet the more general principles of form and proportion had been too firmly laid down to be easily alienated. Wherever she was seen, whether in the most barbaric luxury or in the vilest corruption of Roman life, some portion of that religious feeling which had given her birth was found cleaving to her outward forms; and wherever these appeared, a world, peopled with beings, divine and heroic, met the eyes of the beholder. True to her calling, Art remained the most powerful prop of the old faith.

The light of Christianity now broke upon the world, proclaiming the truth of the one God, and of His Son our Saviour, and exposing the lie of Heathenism. A way had to be prepared for the spiritual renewal of mankind. Christianity addressed herself to the inner man alone. Unlike the religions of Heathendom, she needed no direct alliance with art. From art, such as it then was, associated and bound up with the very spirit of Heathenism, Christianity could only shrink with horror; and as it was well known what important service, nay, what essential support Paganism had derived from it, so, in the struggle of the early Christians against the old idolatry, the art which had sustained it became equally the object of their aversion. The carvers of graven images were looked upon as the servants and emissaries of Satan. Whoever carried on this hateful calling was declared unworthy of the cleansing waters of baptism; whoever, when baptized, returned to his old vocation, was expelled from the community.

There is no doubt that the circumstances of the times favoured these interdicts. The Gentile converts were at

first poor and obscure; the Jewish converts, by law and long habit, were debarred most forms of art. As the Christian community advanced in power, and included more wealthy classes, the need for art, as well as its instincts, in the minds of a race surrounded with classic objects, gradually revived.

And even before this happier period had arrived, in the times of oppression and neglect, the natural instinct had not been totally extinguished. The life and manners of Paganism had been too closely interwoven with artistic forms for the followers of the new faith entirely to disengage themselves from them. Almost every utensil of common life had its established shape and its figurative ornament, bearing not only the charm of grace, but the impress of an allegorical meaning. Imperative, therefore, as it was to the early Christian to banish from his new life every object of his former idol worship, however exquisite in construction, it was not so absolutely necessary to renounce those which were innocent in purpose. But even in these instances all the allegorical designs with which they were enriched had been borrowed from the pagan mythology. The eagle and the thunderbolt, the symbols of power, were the attributes of Jove. The rod with the two serpents indicated commerce, because Mercury was the God of traffic. The club, the emblem of strength, was originally the attribute of Hercules. The griffin, which appears so often in the decoration of antique objects, was sacred to Apollo. The symbol of the sphinx was taken from the fable of *Œdipus*. Thus allegorical representations could not be retained in the dwellings of Christians without reminding them of a mythology which they repudiated. It was possible, however, to substitute others which stood not only in no connection with the ancient idolatry, but, on the contrary, bespoke the owner's acquiescence in the new doctrine. The Oriental mode of teaching by means of parables with which the Bible abounds, supplied an abundance of subjects. Symbolical forms were taken directly from Scriptural illustrations: others were conceived in a similar spirit—here and there some which bore no direct allusion to the old mythology or admitted of a Christian transposition, were retained

in the antique form. Thus a numerous class of Christian symbols sprang up, which gave at once a higher character to those objects of common life to which they were applied, and became also a sign of recognition among the members of the new faith.

As one of these signs of recognition—and, it is supposed, in the gesture of crossing oneself still retained in the Romish Church—the form of the Cross is believed to have been used; but the earliest monuments of Christian art give no evidence whatever of the representation of the symbol itself. Nor, if we consider the horror in which this instrument of punishment—the “arbor infelix”—was held by the pagan Roman, and, doubtless, by the Roman converts, is there any cause for surprise at the absence of all indications of the cross—in the simple form familiar to us—in the first centuries of Christianity.* On the other hand, the monogram of Christ, a combination of the two first Greek letters of His name—X represents the Ch, and P the R, generally in this form $\text{P}\chi$ —abounds on sarcophagi, slabs, utensils, lamps, glasses, &c., from the earliest Christian times.

In other instances the monogram appears in these shapes: $\text{P}\chi$ and $\text{X}\rho$; or even represented thus, $\text{P}\chi$; and not seldom it is accompanied by the mystical apocalyptic letters A and Ω , thus A $\text{P}\chi$ Ω .

It has also been supposed that in the X the earliest Christians sought secretly to exhibit the sign of the cross, but this idea belongs rather to the suggestions of a later period.

Among the more properly artistic symbols the following may be selected as the principal:—

The Lamb—or the emblem of Christ himself—as the sacrifice so named in many parts of the New Testament. This symbol is also employed to denote His disciples, of whom He speaks as the flock of which He is the Shepherd. The Vine—in accordance with the Saviour's own words, who

* Not till a century after the punishment by crucifixion had been abrogated—when the interregnum of several generations had permitted the old and horrible associations to be merged in its present glorious meaning—did the simple sign of the Cross appear upon Christian monuments. It is first seen in the middle of the fifth century, See ‘History of Our Lord,’ vol. ii. p. 317; 318.

calls Himself the Vine, and His disciples the branches. The Fish—the general symbol of the disciples, and also equally of Himself—derived perhaps immediately from the lingering spirit of antique symbolism, in which the fish denotes the element of water, here understood as the baptismal water of life; also in more direct allusion to the words of Christ, who appointed His disciples to be “fishers of men.” The greatest importance, however, attached to this symbol consisted in a fanciful play of letters, the separate letters of the Greek word ΙΧΘΥΣ (Fish) being found to contain the initials of Christ, and of those words which betokened His Divine mission, Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς Θεοῦ Υἱὸς Σωτήρ (Jesus Christ, Son of God, Saviour). The Ship, indicating the Church, as typified by Noah’s ark. The Anchor—always in close connection with the foregoing; often entwined with a fish, a dolphin, or accompanied by two fishes—the emblem of fortitude, faith, and hope. The Dove, occasionally bearing the olive branch, the symbol of Christian meekness and charity, also of the Holy Ghost. The Phoenix and the Peacock, symbols of eternity. The Cock, of watchfulness. The Lyre, of the worship of God. The Palm-branch, the heathen symbol of victory, but, in a Christian sense, as growing afresh from its root, that only of the victory over death. Later signs were the Sheaf, the Bunch of Grapes, &c. &c., with other Biblical types and allusions, such as the Hart at the Brook, the Brazen Serpent, the Ark of the Covenant, the Seven-branched Candlestick, and the Serpent in the Garden of Eden; and, finally, the Cross itself, in various combinations with other symbolical signs—with flowers—with a crown on the summit of a hill—with the Dove hovering about it, or entwined in a garland. A rich collection of these symbols will be found in the spandrels of the arches in S. Apollinare in Classe near Ravenna.

It was natural also that early piety should seek some more direct representation of the person of the Redeemer, though still under a symbolical figure. The words of Christ himself soon pointed out a proper choice of subject. He had said, “I am the Good Shepherd.” He had told

His disciples of the shepherd who went into the wilderness to seek the lost sheep, and when he had found it, carried it home rejoicing upon his shoulders. He it was whom the Prophets had announced under this figure. Christ was, therefore, portrayed as the Good Shepherd, and innumerable are the specimens of the early Christian works of art, of every form, including even statues, in which we find Him thus represented. Sometimes He appears in the midst of His flock, alone or with companions, caressing a sheep, or with a shepherd's pipe in His hand, sometimes sorrowing for the lost sheep, and again bearing the recovered one upon His shoulders. This last mode of representation is the most frequent, and even so early as Tertullian's time (second century), was generally adopted for the glass chalices used in the sacrament and love-feasts. The Saviour is usually represented as a youth, occasionally as a bearded man, in simple succinct drapery; often with the short mantle of the shepherd hanging over the shoulder. A graceful idyllic character pervades these designs which, under one aspect, were familiar to the Heathen. For Mercury, attired as a shepherd with a ram on his shoulders, was no unfrequent object in mythology, and in some instances has led to a confusion between the antique and Christian representation. By the type of the Good Shepherd also a further idea, that of pastoral life, was suggested, as in a similar scene the introduction of naked infants, or genii, among the foliage and fruits of the vine, suggested the scenes of the vintage. The companion also to the Good Shepherd, namely, Christ as the fisherman, sometimes occurs. As umpire also in the popular games (*Agonothetes*) the Saviour is allegorically depicted, but this not often.

A rare and at first sight strange emblem, which can only be interpreted as an allusion to the Saviour, is that of Orpheus captivating the wild beasts of the forest by the sound of his lyre. This adoption of one of the personages of pagan mythology as a fitting object for Christian contemplation may be accounted for equally by the high respect in which the purer Orphean precepts were held by the Fathers of the Christian Church, and by the analogy which

was supposed to exist between the fable of Orpheus and the history of Christ, especially as seen in the taming influence of Christianity over the hearts of heathens and savages. In such examples, Orpheus is represented in the Phrygian costume, in which later antique art always clothed him, seated with his lyre among trees, and surrounded with animals; so far, therefore, a certain affinity may be traced between this emblem and that of the Good Shepherd. Meanwhile, if, on the one hand, so daring a representation of the Saviour soon vanished before the further progress of the Christian Church, it may be observed, on the other, that many modes of expression of a more innocent kind belonging to ancient art, however closely associated with the ancient idolatry, long maintained their position. The most remarkable of this kind are those personifications of Nature under the human form which the materialism of the ancients had led them to adopt. Even to a late period of the middle ages a river is occasionally represented by a river-god, a mountain by a mountain-god, a city by a goddess with a mural crown, Night by a female figure with a torch and a star-bespangled robe, Heaven by a male figure throwing a veil in an arched form above his head. Many of these symbols may even be traced down as far as the thirteenth century. Other heathen forms, such, for example, as those of naked boys or genii, which had been employed by later pagan art only for purposes of decoration, continue at least to the fifth century, and even the later fable of Cupid and Psyche occurs upon Christian sarcophagi.

Meanwhile, by those interpretations of Scripture of which our Lord Himself gave the example, the events of the Gospels were clad under such scenes from the Old Testament as are declared to have prefigured them. Accordingly, where we see Abraham in the act of sacrificing Isaac, we are reminded that God "so loved the world that He gave His only begotten Son for it;" where we find Moses striking the rock, with kneeling figures drinking the waters, we understand the miraculous birth of Christ, who, according to the Prophet Isaiah, is "the well of salvation," from which "we draw waters with joy," "the spiritual rock

from which we drink." Or if the subject be Job afflicted with a sore disease, and surrounded with his friends, who show by their actions their horror at his state, we recognise the deep humiliation of the Saviour, who was, "despised and rejected of men; a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief: and we hid, as it were, our faces from him," &c. Again, Daniel, in the lions' den, is Christ, who passed through the valley of the shadow of death—His arms, according to early Christian representation, outstretched in prayer. Elijah, also, mounting towards Heaven in a chariot, typifies the Ascension, and so on. We likewise frequently meet with the delincation of Jonah, as he is thrown into the sea, with the whale waiting to swallow him, and then again, as he is cast from the fish's jaws on to dry land—this being the favourite and most intelligible type of the death and resurrection of Christ. Gradually, the corresponding subject from the New Testament was added to that from the Old—upon sarcophagi, for example—but it was the art of the middle ages which first placed the two side by side.

The first images of Christ of which we read were not in the abodes of believers, but in those of heretics and heathens—for example, in the chapel of the Emperor Alexander Severus (about A.D. 230), where a figure of the Saviour, though here rather to be considered as an ideal representation than as a portrait,* stood next those of Apollonius of Tyana, of the patriarch Abraham, and of Orpheus. Even Eusebius of Cesarea refuses, on positive religious grounds, to procure for the sister of Constantine the Great a picture of Christ; and no less than a century later, S. Augustin declares that as regards the personal appearance of the Saviour nothing was known. Nevertheless, the temptation to counterfeit a likeness of the Saviour was so great, that, in defiance of all theological scruples, the so-called portraits of Christ became common. The origin of them being alternately ascribed to a picture by Jesus

* A very ancient, but much restored mosaic, in the *Museo Cristiano* in the Vatican, belonging possibly to the third century, gives us some idea of the style of physiognomy which the heathens attributed to Christ. It is a bearded head in profile, agreeing pretty much with the type of countenance given to the philosophers at that period.

himself, or by Pontius Pilate, or by S. Luke, or (according to later views) by Nicodemus; or, as founded upon some manifestly counterfeit, but still early manuscripts; such, for example, as the letter of Lentulus to the Roman Senate, not mentioned in any record earlier than the eleventh century,* though believed to have been fabricated in the third century. In this letter by Lentulus, who (though contrary to history) has been called the predecessor to Pontius Pilate in the government of Palestine, Christ is described as "A man of lofty stature, of serious and imposing countenance, inspiring love as well as fear in those who behold him. His hair is the colour of wine (meaning probably of a dark colour), straight, and without lustre as low as the ears, but thence glossy and curly, flowing upon the shoulders, and divided down the centre of the head, after the manner of the Nazarenes. The forehead is smooth and serene, the face without blemish, of a pleasant, slightly ruddy colour. The expression noble and engaging. Nose and mouth of perfect form; the beard abundant, and of the same colour as the hair, parted in the middle. The eyes blue and brilliant. He is the most beautiful among the children of men."†

Of similar character is the description given, about the middle of the eighth century, by John of Damascus, taken, as he avers, from ancient writers. "Jesus," he says, "was of stately height, with eyebrows that met together; beautiful eyes, regular nose, the hair of His head somewhat curling, and of a beautiful colour, with black beard, and corn-yellow complexion like His mother (on which circumstance the greatest stress is laid), with long fingers," &c. Later descriptions are more embellished, and evidently follow, in some particulars, that type of the Saviour's countenance which painters had meanwhile adopted ‡

Miraculous portraits, or as the expression was, "pictures of Christ, not made with hands," declared to have been imprinted upon His winding sheet, to have been impressed by

* In the writings of Anselmus, Archbishop of Canterbury.

† See Didron, 'Histoire de Dieu,' p. 229.

‡ It was not till the middle ages that the legend of S. Veronica's handkerchief first arose, on which the suffering Redeemer was supposed to have left the impression of His face.

Himself upon His robe, to have been left on the cloth with which He wiped His face, and which He gave to St. Thomas (all of which legends long preceded both the first and second story of St. Veronica); miraculous portraits, we repeat, so abounded, that in a general council held at Constantinople in the eighth century, it was found necessary to condemn them. What class of countenance may have been thus exhibited is unknown, but it is certain that a belief in a particular type of our Lord's features, transmitted from an early time, is not corroborated by early works of art. Christ is seen under a form of ideal youthfulness, performing miracles, or, as a bearded man enthroned upon a symbolical figure of heaven, or standing on an eminence from which flow the four rivers of Paradise; but in either case the patriarchs or apostles who accompany Him have generally precisely the same type of feature as Himself. The only feature most commonly seen in representations of our Lord, and those by no means the earliest, is the hair divided down the centre and the forked beard, though numerous examples might be cited where both these signs equally fail, or are common to the attendant figures. It has been usual to point to two heads in the Roman Catacombs, as the types of our Lord adopted by the early Christians; but the one bears no sign of having been intended for Him, and the other (identified by the cruciform nimbus) is of the common and morose type which long prevailed in Byzantine works.

The Catacombs* of Rome are all of them outside the city, and most of them within a short distance of the city gates; as the head-quarters of early Christian monumental art, they are the most interesting, though in some respects still the perplexing materials for the student of Christian archæology. They were excavated originally for the resting places of the Roman Christian dead, and present labyrinths of passages, hewn in the soft *pozzolano* earth, which are reckoned to have contained several millions of silent inmates. The practice of burying the dead originated with the Jews, and Catacombs of a similar kind to those at Rome and Naples, but identified

* See a graphic description by Kinkel, 'Geschichte der bildenden Künste,' vol. i. p. 180.

by inscriptions, and by the frequent representations of the seven-branched candlestick, to be the depositories of the Hebrew people, have been discovered in the old Kingdom of the two Sicilies where the Jews are known to have settled.* The Roman Catacombs are believed to have been used for purposes of interment up to the seventh century. The commencement of this practice is wrapt in obscurity; but dated inscriptions (on slabs) of the fourth century are numerous, and these dates extend at intervals, and with much rarer occurrence into the seventh century.† The walls of these passages, which are stated to ramify in the different Catacombs to the extent of several hundred miles round and under Rome, are literally honeycombed on each side along their whole length, with a series of recesses, one above the other from floor to ceiling, like the berths in a ship, each appropriated to one occupant. These recesses were originally securely closed by a tile, or marble slab, inscribed some of them with epitaph and name, more of them not inscribed at all. With the rarest exceptions, every one of these resting places have been rifled, and such inscribed slabs as have not perished are found scattered in Roman and other museums. Many of the Catacomb passages expand at intervals into larger spaces, like very small chambers, called *cubicula*, having graves in three sides, and evidently betokening the burial place of a family of distinction. These spaces have been painted on walls and ceilings with slight and coarsely-executed frescoes, of the same class of decorations as are seen in Pompeii, and also with the Christian types we have described. Numerous white marble sarcophagi, decorated with bas-reliefs of the same import as the mural paintings, and repeated over and over again in varying grades of inferiority, have been found in the Catacombs, and now survive in churches and museums in Italy, and in the south of France. The Catacombs in the lapse of centuries have evidently from time to time fallen into oblivion, and have

* At Venosa, an ancient episcopal seat, and at Oria and Lavello, both near the western frontier of the Basilicata.

† S. Jerome visited these vaults in the latter part of the fourth century, and our English Evelyn did the same in 1645.

been re-discovered. Towards the close of the sixteenth century a Romish priest, a Maltese by birth, by name Antonio Bosio, re-opened and thoroughly explored the wonders of this underground world. To his indefatigable labours we are indebted for engravings of the most remarkable paintings and objects, which in point of accuracy leave nothing to desire. Nor is his learned text lightly to be discarded, though much that he and other partisans of Rome have written on the interpretation of the inscriptions, implements, utensils, &c., discovered, as well as on the art of the Catacombs, has been too zealously directed to square with the modern usages of the Romish Church to be of any value to the archæologist or historian. The fact is, that the evidence thus laid up in the Catacombs tends to entirely opposite conclusions. For the clearest refutation of Romish practice and doctrine may be said to be proclaimed, as with the voice of a trumpet, from these ancient walls and graves. They contain no allusion to the worship of saints, or to purgatory. St. Peter appears in no way distinguished from other holy personages of entirely forgotten note, or when accompanied by St. Paul, is on the same level with him. Inscriptions prove that the popes were only bishops—that priests had wives. Allusions are found to only two sacraments. The Virgin appears but once in a later period, and that in a strictly *historical* sense, without diadem or glory, simply holding the Child on her knees as the three wise men (not kings) approach, their number being here for the first time established. The whole structure of martyrology raised on the evidence of the Catacombs falls to the ground; the palm-branch was a symbol common to Pagan and Christian; the bottles assumed to contain blood are the same vessels usually found in pagan graves, and continued doubtless by habit and lingering superstition in those of Christians; the implements of torture are the tools of the artisan; the supposed figure of the Virgin is simply the effigy of some departed woman, standing with hands uplifted in prayer (those of men are also given in the same attitude), this posture being a pagan usage.* In

* Æneas, when in danger of shipwreck, thus prayed to the gods:—
“Duplices tendens ad sidera palmas.”



CEILING IN CATACOMB OF S CALISTO, ROME

short, for it is needless to multiply instances, the whole evidence of this underground city is simply what might have been expected; equally proving the naturally lingering pagan habits on the one hand, and on the other, doctrines of Christianity as far removed as possible from those later enunciated in the great city above. Indeed it is probable that in the progress of accurate archæological knowledge, pagan habits, far from having been shunned by the mass of early humble Christians, will be found more and more to offer the solution of many a Catacomb puzzle.

Most of the Roman Catacombs are now wisely closed, their insecure state necessitating these measures of precaution, while in those still open, the wall paintings are fast perishing under the joint influence of air, and the smoke of torches.

The most interesting of these paintings, which, judged by the internal evidence of their art and their subject, extend even to the eleventh century, were found in the Catacombs of S. Calisto, on the Via Appia, beneath the church of S. Sebastiano; others of less importance in those of S. Saturnino, S. Priscilla, S. Ponziano, S. Marcellino, S. Lorenzo, &c. Among those latest executed appears one instance of a crucifixion, and that by no means the earliest instance of that subject.* This exists in the Catacomb, so called, of Pope Julius on the Via Flaminia.†

In order to give the reader an idea of the subjects and their arrangement of the art of the Catacombs, we subjoin a woodcut of one of the ceilings in the Catacomb of S. Calisto.‡ This contains those events from the Old Testament, which illustrate the evangelical ideas of regeneration of life, and resurrection from the dead, and also the power of Christ to feed the hungry, heal the sick, and raise the dead, all centring in His figure as the Good Shepherd carrying His sheep.

* By a larger and closer system of observation it is now known that certain actions and attributes—such, for instance, as the act of benediction, the attribute of the nimbus, or the keys of St. Peter—have their approximate periods of introduction. General dates may thus be arrived at which, in the absence of inscriptions or documents, assist to guide the student of early Christian art.

† See engraving in 'Roma Sotteranea,' vol. ii. p. 354.

‡ Bottari, vol. ii. tab. cxviii., Catacomb of SS. Marcellinus and Peter.

Five of the subjects are from the Old Testament, three from the New; as follows :—

Noah in the ark, with arms extended, welcoming the dove; the ark being a mere box floating in a boat.

Moses striking the rock.

Jonah ejected by the whale.

Jonah swallowed by the whale.

Daniel between the lions.

Christ restoring Lazarus to life.

The miracle of the loaves.

The lame man made whole and taking up his bed.

The birds and fruits in the inner circle have been interpreted as the human soul feeding on fruits of Paradise; but are too identical with antique ornamentation to be strictly taken in such a sense.

Our next plate shows two walls in a cubiculum in S. Calisto. On the one hand, above, is seen Job seated; in the centre again, Daniel between the lions; and Moses unbinding his sandals.* Below is a woman in attitude of prayer, next her Noah, welcoming the dove, and Christ raising Lazarus; underneath Moses we see Elijah taken up to heaven, dropping his mantle to Elisha; the other figure is probably one of the youths.

Another painting in the Catacombs of S. Calisto deserves mention for its antique style of beauty. Within and above the arch of one of the recesses are seen eleven little genii, encircled with vine tendrils, eagerly occupied in the labours of the vintage. In the recess itself appears a figure, interpreted as Christ, with a scroll in his left hand, turning with the air of a teacher towards a number of hearers. Here,

* In illuminated MS. Bibles, and the *Biblia Pauperum*, the subject of Moses and the Burning Bush generally accompanies that of the Nativity (in some instances the Annunciation) and alludes to the mystery of the Incarnation. The inscriptions which sometimes accompany these representations explain the connection, such as it is, of type and anti-type. Thus, under the subject of the Burning Bush, we read, "*Lucet et ignescit, sed non rubus igne calescit*:" under the Nativity, "*Absque dolore parit Virgo Maria maris*." The subject of Aaron's rod bearing flowers is occasionally added, with the line "*Hic contra morem producit virgula florem*." The subject of the Nativity is surmounted by that of Moses and the Burning Bush in one of the windows in King's College Chapel at Cambridge. —C. L. E.—[These initials are here appended to all the notes originally by Sir C. L. Eastlake.]



Paintings on wall, left of entrance, of a chamber in the Catacomb of S. Calixtus, representing DANIEL, JOB, and MOSES.



Paintings on wall of a chamber, right of entrance, in the Catacomb of S. Calisto, representing ELIJAH, a figure in the attitude of Prayer, NOAH IN THE ARK, and THE RAISING OF LAZARUS.



Wall Painting in the Catacomb of S. Calisto, representing CHRIST AS A TEACHER, surrounded by the Vine
with Genii gathering the fruit

also, in these Catacombs, may be occasionally traced the habits of the early Christians. We see them assembled for their love-feasts (though these particular representations are of very uncertain meaning), celebrating baptisms and marriages, and congregating together for the purposes of instruction. As the Catacombs, for many centuries after Constantine the Great, remained open to the public as places of veneration, and as such continued to be decorated in the taste of the day, it follows that the paintings in them extend to much later periods; but possessing, as we do, far more valuable specimens of those periods, we have limited our notice here to those of the earliest times under the Empire.

The Catacombs of Naples are upon a more extensive plan than those of Rome. They contain, however, fewer specimens of the early Christian school, which, though markedly rude in-execution, yet, by a stricter drawing and greater body of colour, appear still to maintain a relation with ancient art.

Thus it was, therefore, to sum up the foregoing remarks in a few words, that the genius of ancient art succeeded in infusing itself into the forms of Christianity. And it is highly important to observe how the system of early Christian symbolism, by the deeper meaning which it suggests to the mind of the spectator, unites itself to the spirit of the later Pagan art, in which the subjects of ancient fable, considered as emblems, were merely vehicles for a general idea. Much, therefore, as the higher feeling for power, richness, and beauty of form, as such, had departed from art in the later period of the Empire—much as the outward expression of art at that time, like the forms of government and habits of life, appears for the most part only fit to be likened to a broken vessel or a cast-off garment—yet, in the formal simplicity of these Catacomb paintings, in the peaceful earnestness of their forms, in their simple expression of a spiritual meaning, to the exclusion of any other aim, we recognise a spirit which contrasts refreshingly with the affectation of later pagan works.

As regards the state of art under Constantine the Great, there are many works which give us a far higher idea of its technical processes and resources than we should be inclined

to infer from the clumsy and ugly sculpture upon the probably hastily-erected Arch of Constantine. Great as was the deterioration of ancient art, there still remained too much vigour in its tradition of many centuries not to conceal here and there the reality of its decline. It is true the old laws which regulated the drawing of the human figure had already been much neglected. The heads and extremities upon the sculptured sarcophagi are too large. In painting, on the other hand, the proportions are too long. The positions and *motives** in both too conventional. The marking of the joints is defective—the drapery, though here and there finely felt, is weak in execution—nevertheless we are sometimes agreeably surprised by a spiritedly conceived figure. In point of decoration, too, we observe for a length of time a certain grace, though no actual beauty; while in neatness of execution, for example in the ivory Diptychs, nothing better is to be found in similar works even of the best period. Further, it must be borne in mind that, as compared with the gigantic works of Constantine's time, described by Eusebius and Anastasius, such relics as have descended to us can only be regarded as very inadequate specimens; for we may take it as a rule that the Catacomb pictures of that time belong, without exception, to the more unimportant class of works. To form, as far as possible, a just conception of this epoch of art, we shall, in the course of the ensuing pages, especially call the attention

* [This word, familiar as it is in the technical phraseology of other languages, is not yet generally adopted in our own, and hence some apology may be necessary for employing it as above. It may often be rendered *intention*, but has a fuller meaning. In its ordinary application, and as generally used by the author, it means the principle of action, attitude, and composition in a single figure or group; thus it has been observed, that in some antique gems which are defective in execution, the *motives* are frequently fine. Such qualities in this case may have been the result of the artist's feeling, but in servile copies like those of the Byzantine artists the *motives* could only belong to the original inventor. In its more extended signification the term comprehends invention generally, as distinguished from execution. Another very different and less general sense in which this expression is also used, must not be confounded with the foregoing; thus a *motive* is sometimes understood in the sense of a *suggestion*. It is said, for example, that Poussin found the *motives* of his landscape compositions at Tivoli. In this case we have a *suggestion* improved and carried out; in the copies of the Byzantine artists we have *intentions* not their own, blindly transmitted.—C. L. E.]

of the reader to such works as, however late in their own date, may be with probability considered as repetitions or imitations of the productions of the fourth century.

With the general recognition of Christianity as the religion of the state, followed also the introduction of painting into the vast Basilicas and other churches of the new faith, where walls, cupolas, and altars were soon decorated with the utmost splendour. Not content, also, with the rich treasury of Scriptural subjects, Christian art sought her materials in the wide circle of saintly history, nor hesitated even to avail herself of the persons of distinguished living characters. Circumstantial inscriptions, ornamentally disposed, were now adopted to explain the meaning of the picture, and in smaller churches were eventually substituted for them.*

The technical processes in vogue at Byzantium at the time when the city assumed its present name consisted at first and elsewhere in such as had hitherto been used for wall paintings—namely, in tempera† and encaustic. During the fourth century, however, mosaic, which had hitherto been restricted more particularly to pavements, began to be preferred for churches and even for palaces—a circumstance to which we are exclusively indebted for the preservation of a number of early Christian subjects of the first class.

Mosaic-work, or the placing together of small cubes of stone, terra-cotta, and, later, of vitrified substances of various colours, for decorations and figures, on the principles of ordinary painting, was an invention of the sumptuous Alexandrian age, during which a prodigality of form and material began to corrupt the simplicity of Grecian art. According to general tradition, the application of mosaic as an ornament for pavements commenced in the close imitation of inanimate objects, such as broken food and scattered articles, lying apparently upon the floor—thence proceeded in rapid progress to large historical compositions, and, under the first emperors,

* See the important letter by Paulinus de Nola, in Augusti's 'Beiträge zur Christlichen Kunstgeschichte,' 1841, p. 147. The same occurred in palaces: see 'Chron. Salernitanum,' chap. 37 (Pertz. Monum.), upon the inscriptions of Paulus Diaconus in the palace at Salerno.

† A more or less glutinous medium, soluble, at first, in water, with which the colours were applied.—C. L. E.

attained the highest technical development and refinement. It was subsequent to this that it first came into use as a decoration for walls.* Under the protection of the Roman dominion this peculiar art spread itself over the ancient world, and was executed in the same manner upon the Euphrates, on Mount Atlas, and in Britain. The inherent defect of such pictures, the impossibility, namely, from the almost mechanical manner in which they were wrought from the cartoon, of imparting to them any immediate expression of feeling, appears, consistently with the Roman love of solidity, to have been fully counterbalanced by their durability. The essential conditions of this branch of art—its restriction, as far as possible, to large and simple forms,—its renunciation of rich and crowded compositions, and its indispensable requisite of general distinctness—have exercised, since the time of Constantine, an important influence over the whole province of art.

It must be remembered, however, that the style to which the materials and practice of this art necessarily and gradually tended, may by no means be considered to have attained its highest perfection at the period of its first application to the walls and arches of Christian churches. The earliest, and

* We own that the middle links between the small cabinet pieces in mosaic, which the relics of Pompeii and imperial Rome have preserved to us, and the suddenly commencing wall-mosaics of Christian origin, are as yet wanting. The temples, baths, and palaces of the later emperors contain innumerable wall-paintings, stuccos, and mosaic pavements, but, as far as we know, no mosaic-work on ceilings or walls. Pliny, it is true, distinctly tells us (xxxvi. 64) that mosaic-work, proceeding, as it were, upwards from the pavements, had recently taken possession of the arches above them, and had, since then, been made of vitrified substances; also that mosaic work had been made capable of expressing every colour, and that these materials were as applicable for the purposes of painting as any other. But the few existing specimens, exceeding the limits of the pavement and the small wall-picture (namely, the four pillars and the two mosaic fountains from Pompeii, and a monument of the Vigna Campana in Rome, &c.) are of a purely decorative style, without figures; while it is very strange that, neither upon the arches of Diocletian's baths, nor upon those of any other edifices of this period, have any traces of a higher class of painting in a material thus durable been discovered. We are almost tempted to believe that historical mosaic painting of the grander style first started into life in the course of the fourth century, and suddenly took its wide spread. It must be remembered that Anastasius, in his *Life of S. Sylvester*, where he describes the splendid ecclesiastical buildings erected by Constantine, and numbers their scarcely credible amount of objects of decoration, is entirely silent on the subject of mosaics. Certainly, he pays them, elsewhere, no great attention.

the only Christian mosaics of the fourth century with which we are acquainted—those on the waggon-roof of the ambulatory of S. Costanza, near Rome*—belong essentially to the decorative schools of ancient art, while their little genii, among vine-tendrils, on a white ground, stand on a parallel line of art with similar subjects in the Catacombs of S. Calisto† of which we have given a specimen. In the fifth century, also, historical mosaic painting attempted paths of development which it soon after and for ever renounced. Considered apart from those, at first frequent, early Christian symbols and Biblical allegories, which subsequently declined, this style of art essayed its powers also in the line of animated historical composition, and it was only by degrees that the range of its subjects became so narrowed as to comprehend only those where the arrangement was in the strictest symmetry, and the mode of conception, as regards single figures, of a tranquil statuesque character. But as our power of judgment here depends especially upon a knowledge of the transitions of style, we shall proceed chronologically, and point out the changes of subject as they occur. Fortunately for us, the dates of these changes are for the most part accurately defined. Here, however, as in the later times of heathen art, only very few artists' names appear—a circumstance consistent with the moral condition of the world of art at that time. For it may be assumed that where, as in this case, the mind of the patron is chiefly intent upon a display of luxury and a prodigality of decoration, the fame of the workman is sure to be obscured by the splendour of material execution. At the same time that artist who, in a period like the fourth and fifth centuries, could establish such a type of Christ as we shall have occasion to comment on in the church of SS. Cosmo and Damiano, well deserves to have had his name transmitted to posterity.

* Either built under Constantine as a baptistery for the neighbouring church of S. Agnes, or, soon after him, as a monumental chapel to his two daughters (see Platner). The supposition of its being a temple of Bacchus, which the subjects of the mosaics had suggested, is now given up.

† If we may venture to form a general conclusion from so isolated a specimen, we should say that this almost exclusively ornamental mosaic at S. Costanza argues the probability that those earlier Roman ceiling mosaics, of which Pliny speaks, were, for the greater part, only of a decorative kind.

The most numerous and valuable mosaics of the fifth and following centuries are found in the churches of Rome and Ravenna.* The Bishopric of Rome, enriched beyond all others by the munificence of its emperors and the piety of private individuals, erected itself, more and more, into the principal seat of the hierarchy, while Ravenna, on the other hand, became successively the residence of the last members of the imperial Theodosian house, of several of the Ostrogoth sovereigns, and finally that of an orthodox Archbishop, whose power and dignity for a long time hardly yielded to that of the Papacy. Here it was that painting again united itself closely with architecture, and submitted to be guided by the latter not only in external arrangement, but in great measure also in direction of thought. In the generally circular or polygonal Baptisteries, the decoration of which was chiefly confined to the cupola, it was natural that the centre subject should represent the Baptism of Christ, round which the figures of the Apostles formed an outward circle. In the few larger churches, with cupolas and circular galleries, scarcely any traces of mosaics have been preserved, though we have reason to conclude that in their original state the decorations in this line of art exhibited peculiar beauties of conception and arrangement. In this we are supported by the character of the mosaics in the existing, and in some measure still perfect, Basilicas. This form of church-building had generally obtained in the East. It consisted in a principal oblong space, of three or five aisles, divided by rows of columns—the centre aisle loftier than the others, and terminating in one or three semi-domed tribunes or *apsides*, before which, in some instances, a transept was introduced. A gradation of surfaces was thus offered to the decorative painter, which, according to their relation with, or local vicinity to, the altar (always in front of the centre *apsis*), afforded

* A complete collection also of these specimens, which have subsequently disappeared, occurs in Ciampini's 'Vetera Monumenta in quibus præcipue Musiva Opera illustrantur,' Roma, 1747. (The illustrations unfortunately are so incorrect, that no conclusion can be formed as to style.) See also J. G. Müller, 'Die bildlichen Darstellungen in Sanctuarium der Christliche Kirchen, vom 5ten bis 14ten Jahrh.' Trier, 1835; and v. Quast, 'Die alt Christl. Bauwerke von Ravenna,' Berlin, 1842; also the 'Mosaics of Rome,' by the late Dr. E. Braun.

an appropriate field for the following frequently recurring order of decoration.

The chief apsis behind the altar, as the most sacred portion of the building, was almost invariably reserved for the colossal figure of the standing or enthroned Saviour, with the Apostles or the patron saints and founders of the church on either hand—in later times the Virgin was introduced next to Christ, or even in His stead. Above the chief figure appears generally a hand extended from the clouds, and holding a crown—an emblem of the Almighty power of the Father, whose representation in human form was then not tolerated. Underneath, in a narrow division, may be seen the Agnus Dei with twelve sheep, which are advancing on both sides from the gates of Jerusalem and Bethlehem—a symbol of the twelve disciples, or of the Faithful generally. Above, and on each side of the arch which terminates the apsis, usually appear various subjects from the Apocalypse, referring to the Advent of our Lord. In the centre generally the Lamb, or the book with the seven seals upon the throne; next to it the symbols of the Evangelists, the seven Candlesticks, and the four-and-twenty Elders, their arms outstretched in adoration towards the Lamb. In the larger Basilicas where a transept is introduced before the apsis it is divided from the nave by a large arch, called the Arch of Triumph. In this case the subjects from the Apocalypse were usually introduced upon this arch. In addition to this, the clerestory of the centre aisle and the spandrils of the arches over the columns were seldom left, in the larger and more splendid Basilicas, without decoration—so few specimens, however, have been preserved, that it is not easy to arrive at any general conclusion, though we have reason to believe that the decorations consisted simply of a series of Biblical scenes; of a double procession of saints and martyrs; in later ages of a set of portrait-heads of the popes; and in the spandrils of a variety of early Christian symbols. Of those representations of the Passion of our Lord, which, in the middle ages, occupied the high altar, no trace has yet been found; the idea of the Godhead of Christ having for ages taken precedence of that of His earthly career. For it lay in the very nature of

an art derived from Pagan sources not to dwell on His human sufferings, but rather upon His almighty power. To which may be ascribed the fact that no representation of the Passion or crucifixion is traceable before the eighth century.

The earliest mosaics of the fifth century with which we are acquainted, namely, the internal decorations of the baptistery of the cathedral at Ravenna, are, in respect of figures as well as ornament, among the most remarkable of their kind. The building is of an octagon form, surmounted by a cupola. A double row of arches occupies the walls: in the spandrels of the lower arches, between splendid gold arabesques on a blue ground, are seen the figures of the eight prophets, which, in general conception, especially in the motives of the draperies, are in no way distinguishable from the later antique works. Though the execution is light and bold, the *chiaroscuro* is throughout tolerably complete. In the upper tier of arches, between rich architectural decorations, a series of stucco reliefs occupy the place of the mosaics. The subjects of these are male and female saints, with rams, peacocks, sea-horses, stags, and griffins above; chiefly white upon a red-yellow or grey ground. At the base of the cupola is a rich circle of mosaics consisting of four altars, with the four open books of the Gospel, four thrones with crosses, eight Episcopal Sedilia beneath conch-niches, and eight elegant tombs surmounted with garlands. All these subjects are divided symmetrically, and set in a framework of architecture of beautiful and almost Pompeian character. Within this circle appear the chief representations—the twelve Apostles, colossal in size; and in the centre, as a circular picture, the Baptism of Christ. The Apostles stand upon a green base, representing the earth, with a blue background, under a white gold-decorated drapery which embraces the whole circle of the cupola, and is divided into compartments by gold acanthus plants. The robes of the Apostles are of gold stuff; and as they step along in easy, dignified measure, bearing crowns in their hands, they form a striking contrast to the stiff immobility of later mosaics. The heads, like most of those in the Catacomb pictures, are somewhat small, and, at the same

time, by no means youthfully ideal or abstract, but rather livingly individual, and even of that late Roman character of ugliness so observable in the portraits of the time. In spite of their walking action, the heads are not given in profile, but in front, which, in a work otherwise of such excellence, is decidedly not ascribable to any inability of drawing on the part of the artist, but to the desire of giving the spectator as much as possible of the holy countenances. In default of a definite type for the Apostles—the first traces of which can at most be discerned in the figure of St. Peter—who appears with grey hair, though not as yet with a bald head—they are distinguished by inscriptions. Especially fine in conception and execution are the draperies, which, in their gentle flow and grandeur of massing, recall the best Roman works. As in the antique representations of Victory, the folds appear to be agitated by a supernatural wind. In the centre picture—the Baptism of Christ—the character of the nude is still easy and unconstrained, the lower part of the Saviour's figure being seen through the water—a mode of treating this subject which continued late into the middle ages. The head of Christ, with the long divided hair, corresponds in great measure with the description ascribed to Lentulus. The whole is still treated somewhat in the spirit of ancient fable, the figure being represented simply, without nimbus or glory, with a cross between the Saviour and the Baptist: while the river Jordan, under the form of a river God, rises out of the water on the left in the act of presenting a cloth. The angels, which in later representations perform this office, occur but rarely at this time. The combined ornamental effect, the arrangement of the figures, and the delicate feeling for colour pervading the whole, enable us to form an idea of the genuine splendour and beauty which have been lost to the world in the destruction of the later decorated buildings of Imperial Rome.

Of a totally different description are those now much restored mosaics, dating from A.D. 432 to 440, which occupy the centre aisle and arch of triumph in S. Maria Maggiore at Rome. On the upper walls of the centre aisle, in thirty-

one pictures (those which are lost not included), are represented, on a small scale, incidents from the Old Testament, with the histories of Moses and Joshua; while, on the arch of triumph, on each side of the apocalyptic throne, appear in several rows, one above the other, scenes from the life of Christ, beginning with the Annunciation and ending with the beheading of John the Baptist; including also the figures of the Apostles Peter and Paul, and the emblems of the Evangelists. The Passion of Christ is here still excluded. It may be remarked also that in the Adoration of the Wise Men the Infant Christ is seen seated alone upon the throne, while his mother stands among the crowd. Below, on each side, are the believers under the form of lambs; with the cities of Jerusalem and Bethlehem behind. In the freedom of historical composition which characterises these mosaics they differ in no essential principle from the antique; however evident—in point of deficiency of keeping and drawing, in awkwardness of action, and in the laborious crowding together of the figures—the increasing inability of execution may appear. The costumes, especially of the warriors, are still of the ancient cast; and in single figures—particularly on the arch of triumph—excellent in style, though, at the same time, not seen to advantage in this material on so small a scale. Outlines and shadows are strongly and boldly defined.

Contemporary with these last examples, or, at all events, before A. D. 450, we may consider the rich decorations of the monumental chapel of the Empress Galla Placidia at Ravenna,* preserved entire with all its mosaics; and, therefore, alone fitted to give us an idea of the general decorations of the ornamented buildings of that period. This chapel, generally known as the Church of SS. Nazaro e Celso, is built in the form of a cross, the centre being occupied by a square elevation, arched over in the form of the segment of a cupola: aisles and transepts terminate above in waggon roofs. The lower walls were formerly faced with marble slabs. From the entablature upwards begin the mosaics, chiefly gold upon a dark-blue ground, which binds the whole

* See the admirable coloured illustrations by Von Quast.

together with a pleasant effect. Upon the arches are ornaments, which, though not in the antique taste, belong, in point of elegance, to the most excellent of their kind. On the lunettes, at the termination of the transepts, are seen golden stags advancing between green-gold arabesques upon a blue ground towards a fountain—an emblem of the conversion of the heathen. In the lunette over the entrance of the nave we observe the Good Shepherd, of very youthful character, seated among His flock; while, in the chief lunette over the altar, Christ appears full length, with the flag of victory, burning the writings of the heretics (or of the philosophers) upon a grate. On the walls of the elevated portion before alluded to are seen the Apostles, two-and-two, without any particular attributes; between and below each, a pair of doves sipping out of basins; and finally, in the centre of the cupola itself, between large stars, appears, it is believed for the first time, a plain Latin cross. At the corners are the symbols of the Evangelists. Upon the whole, the combination of symbols and historical characters in these mosaics evinces no definite principle or consistently carried out thought; and, with the exception of the Good Shepherd,* the figures are of inferior character. At the same time, in point of decorative harmony, the effect of the whole is incomparable. On that account we may the more lament the loss of the very extensive mosaics of S. Giovanni Evangelista at Ravenna, also built by the Empress Galla Placidia. Another probably contemporary work, namely, the single apsis of the vestibule in the baptistery of the Lateran in Rome (of the time of Sixtus III., A.D. 432 to 440?), gives us a high idea of the fine feeling for decoration which was peculiar to this otherwise degenerate age. The semicircle of the apsis is filled with the most beautiful green-gold tendrils upon a dark-blue ground, above which the Agnus Dei appears with four doves.

The age of Pope Leo the Great (A.D. 440 to 462) is distinguished by an imposing work, the conception of which is attributable probably to the Pope himself, and which became

* Von Quast has somewhat over-estimated the artistic value of this figure.

a favourite example for subsequent times,—we mean the mosaics on the arch of triumph in S. Paolo fuori le mura, in Rome, which partially survived the unfortunate fire in 1823, and have since undergone repair. Within a cruciform nimbus, fifteen feet in diameter, and surrounded with rays, shines forth in the centre the colossal figure of the Saviour—the right hand raised, the left holding the sceptre: a delicately folded mantle of thin material covers the shoulder; the form is stern, but grand in conception; the eyebrows in finely arched half-circles above the widely opened eyes; the nose in a straight Grecian line; the mouth, which is left clear of all beard, closed with an expression of mild serenity, and hair and beard divided in the centre. Above, in the clouds, on a smaller scale, are seen the four winged animals bearing the books of the Gospels; lower down two angels (perhaps one of the earliest specimens of angel representation) are lowering their wands before the Redeemer, on each side of whom the four-and-twenty elders are humbly casting their crowns—those on the right barcheaded, the others covered; the one signifying the prophets of the Old Testament, who only saw the truth through a veil; the other, the apostles of the New Testament, who beheld it face to face. Finally, below these, where only a narrow space remains next the arch, appear, on the left, St. Paul and St. Peter; both, in the style of the divided hair somewhat approaching the type of Christ; both in active gesture, as if engaged in the proclamation of the Gospel.* Like the sound of a hymn of praise, the adorations of the old and new time, of the Evangelists and of the great teachers of the faith, here unite; and whoever at the same time considers that the whole length of the walls of the centre aisle were formerly occupied with the history of Christ and the Church—consisting of a series of Biblical scenes; with saints, martyrs, and the portraits of the Popes; the last many centuries later in date,—will find it difficult to imagine how the mosaics of the tribune itself could surpass in beauty those of the aisles. That this was neither accomplished nor intended

* We borrow this description of the mosaics of St. Paul from Kinkel, p. 215.

may be justly concluded; for if we assume that the subjects of the present mosaics of the apsis, dating from the thirteenth century—namely, Christ, with SS. Peter, Paul, Luke, and Andrew—are the same as those originally occupying this space, it is undeniable that not only greater poetical and symbolical beauty, but a more vigorous and varied representation of the glory of Christ, is to be found upon the arch of triumph,—an observation which we shall have frequent occasion to repeat. For from this time it became the custom to introduce on the arch of triumph, and on the arch above the tribune, on each side of the central *Agnus Dei*, or half-length of Christ, the figures of angels, apostles, saints, and elders, while the apsis was occupied only with a few statuesque figures referring to the building itself, such as the patron saints, and the donors, with Christ in the centre.

These mosaics in the church of S. Paolo fuori le mura may be considered to indicate in more than one respect a by no means unimportant transition period. The feeling for ancient art here only sounds, as it were, from a distance. The little naked genii, by a total change of intention, give way now to the figures of angels, represented as tall and youthful forms, with wings, entirely draped, and occasionally indicated by their wands as messengers of God. The earlier Christian symbolism, with the idyllic scenery of the Good Shepherd, and the gay decorative forms of the genii of the vintage, have now passed away, and that fantastic mystifying element which has always accompanied all religious art, and has sought to express itself in characters, partly symbolical, partly real, here takes possession of that portion of the New Testament which, from the earliest Christian era, had been enthusiastically read and promulgated, namely, the Book of Revelations. But, as in the history of the Saviour, only the aspect of His glory and not of His suffering was to be given, so in these Apocalyptic pictures it is not the forms of death and destruction which appear, but only those which indicate the glorification of Christ and His people. For we are still in presence of a youthful Church, which required that the glory of her Lord should first be depicted; and also in that of an art which, sunk and decrepit

as it was, still retained enough of the strength and dignity of her better days to keep itself free from all that was monstrous and vague.

During the worst times of the decline of the Western Empire, up to the period of Theodoric the Great, art appears to have remained in a stationary condition. The chief mosaics of the sixth century are, in point of conception, scarcely perceptibly inferior to those of the fifth, and in splendour of material by no means so. The distinctive difference between them can at most be traced in an increasing want of spirit, in the still gorgeous style of ornament, and in a somewhat altered treatment of colouring, drawing, and mode of shadowing.

We commence this new class with the finest mosaics of ancient Christian Rome, those of SS. Cosmo e Damiano (A.D. 526 to 530). Above the arch of the tolerably spacious apsis appear, on each side of the Lamb, four angels of excellent but somewhat severe style; then follow various Apocalyptic emblems: a modern walling-up having left but few traces of the figures of the four-and-twenty elders. A gold surface, dimmed by age, with little purple clouds, forms the background; though in Rome, at least, at both an earlier and later date, a blue ground prevailed. In the apsis itself, upon a dark-blue ground, with golden-edged clouds, is seen the colossal figure of Christ; the right hand raised, the left holding a written scroll; above is the hand extended from the clouds, already noticed as the emblem of the First Person of the Trinity. Below, on each side, the apostles Peter and Paul are leading SS. Cosmo and Damiano, each with crowns in their hands, towards the Saviour, followed by St. Theodore on the right, and by Pope Felix IV., the founder of the church, on the left. This latter, unfortunately, is an entirely restored figure. Two palm-trees, sparkling with gold, above one of which appears the emblem of eternity—the phoenix—with a star-shaped nimbus, close the composition on each side. Further below, indicated by water plants, sparkling also with gold, is the river Jordan. The figure of Christ may be regarded as one of the most marvellous specimens of the art of the middle ages. Countenance, attitude,

and drapery combine to give Him an expression of quiet majesty, which, for many centuries after, is not found again in equal beauty and freedom. The drapery, especially, is disposed in noble folds, and only in its somewhat too ornate details is a further departure from the antique observable. The saints are not as yet arranged in stiff, parallel forms, but are advancing forward, so that their figures appear somewhat distorted, while we already remark something constrained and inanimate in their step. The apostles Peter and Paul wear the usual ideal costume; SS. Cosmo and Damiano are attired in the late Roman dress: violet mantles, in gold stuff, with red embroideries of Oriental barbaric effect. Otherwise the chief motives of the drapery are of great beauty, though somewhat too abundant in folds. The high lights are brought out by gold and other sparkling materials, producing a gorgeous play of colour which relieves the figures vigorously from the dark blue ground. Altogether a feeling for colour is here displayed of which no later mosaics with gold grounds give any idea. The heads, with the exception of the principal figure, are animated and individual, though without any particular depth of expression; somewhat elderly also in physiognomy, but still far removed from any Byzantine stiffness; St. Peter has already the bald head, and St. Paul the short brown hair and dark beard, by which they were afterwards recognisable. That they are looking before them, and not toward the Saviour, is accounted for by their particular relation as patron saints of the church; it being supposed that the pious believers would desire to behold the entire countenances of those whom they regarded as their especial intercessors. Under this chief composition, on a gold ground, is seen the Lamb upon a hill, with the four rivers of Paradise and the twelve sheep on either hand; these are drawn with much truth of nature, and without any of that heraldic conventionality which belongs to the animal representations of the later middle ages. The whole is executed with the utmost care; this is observable chiefly in the five or six gradations of tints which, in order to obtain the greatest possible softness of shadowing, the artist has adopted.

But, in spite of the high excellence of this work, it is precisely here that we can clearly discern in what respects the degeneracy and impoverishment of art first showed itself. Both here and in succeeding works but little action is exhibited. Real, animated, historical composition also, in the higher sense, left its last, and it is true, very imperfect memorial with the mosaics of the church of S. Maria Maggiore; and with the exception of a few and constantly repeated Biblical scenes, we have henceforth only to do with the glory-subjects of the apsis, and with representations of ceremonials almost as lifeless. The slightly animated action also, which imparted to the figures some appearance of life, ceases with the seventh century, at which period an absolutely statuesque immobility of form commences; while the artist soon ceased to comprehend both the principles and the effects of natural movement. Not less characteristic of the rapid wane of art is the increasing age of the holy personages (with the exception of the Saviour, who nevertheless appears in the ripeness of man's estate), SS. Cosmo and Damiano being represented as men of fifty years of age. We have already observed that Christian art, from its earliest commencement, never ventured to represent these personages under mere ideal forms, but sought rather to clothe them, portrait-like, with the features of a race who had, even physically, deteriorated. Thus the objects proposed to be represented, and the incapacity of representation, coincided more and more; yet for all this, we are every moment reminded of that ancient art whence these works are derived. Even the colossal scale of the forms awakens in the spectator a feeling of awe; the ideal drapery and the regular lines in which it is disposed convey the impression of a higher nature, undisturbed by any earthly passions.

In Ravenna no mosaics of the Ostrogothic period have been preserved. Even the picture of Theodoric the Great, on the front of his palace, which represented him on horseback, with breastplate, shield, and lance, between the allegorical figures of Rome and Ravenna, has, like the mural paintings in his palace at Pavia, entirely disappeared. It was not till towards the middle of the sixth century that

mosaic painting recommenced in Ravenna; consequently, after the occupation of Ravenna by the Byzantians in 539; an event, however, which does not warrant the application of the term "Byzantine" to works of that period. The style of art is still of that late Roman class which we have already described, and we have no reason to conclude that the artists belonged to a more Eastern school.*

Of doubtful age are the mosaics in S. Maria in Cosmedin, the Baptistery of the Arians, though the decoration of that building belongs almost indisputably to the time of the veritable Byzantine dominion; probably, therefore, to the middle of the sixth century. We here observe a free imitation of the cupola mosaics of the orthodox church. Surrounding the centre picture of the Baptism of Christ are arranged the figures of the Twelve Apostles, bearing crowns in their hands, their line interrupted on the east side by a golden throne with a cross. The figures are no longer advancing, but stand motionless, yet without stiffness. The heads are somewhat more uniformly drawn, but the draperies already display stiffness of line, with unmeaning breaks and folds, and a certain crudeness of light and shade. The decline of the feeling for decoration shows itself not only in the unpleasant interruption of the figures caused by the throne, but also in the introduction of heavy palm-trees between the single figures, instead of the graceful acanthus-plant. In the centre picture the nude form of the Christ is somewhat stiffer, though that of St. John is precisely the same as in the Baptisteries of the orthodox church. On the other hand, the river Jordan is introduced as a third person, with the upper part of the figure bare, a green lower garment, hair and beard long and white, two red, crescent-shaped horns on his head, a reed in his hand, and an urn beside him. In the drawing and shadowing of the flesh no great alteration is observable, but the general execution has become somewhat ruder, and the motives here and there less free.

* Didron, in his Byzantine enthusiasm (see '*Manuel d'Iconographie Chretienne*,' Paris, 1845, p. 46), ascribes, it is true, the mosaics of S. Vitale to that school, and even particularly to the artist-monks of Mount Athos, though giving no reason for this very bold assertion.

In the year 545 the church of S. Michele in Affricisco was consecrated, the beautiful mosaics of which, in the apsis and upon the arch of triumph, representing the Saviour triumphant among angels and archangels, have been taken down and sold to the Prussian government. Two years later, A.D. 547, followed the consecration of the celebrated church of S. Vitale, the mosaics of which may have been completed some short time before. Unfortunately, only the decorations of the principal tribune, and those of the quadrangular arched space before it, are all that have been preserved. They refer in subject to the foundation and consecration of the church, with the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. Gold grounds and blue grounds alternate here, the former being confined to the apsis and to two of the four divisions of the arched space. In the semidome of the apsis appears a still very youthful Christ, seated upon the globe of the world; on each side two angels, with S. Vitalis as patron of the church, and Bishop Ecclesius as founder; the latter carrying a model of the building. Below are the four rivers of Paradise, flowing through green meadows, while the golden ground is striped with purple clouds. The figures are all noble and dignified, especially the Christ, whose ideal youthfulness scarcely recurs after that time. In the drapery there is much that is conventional, especially in the mode of shading, though a certain truthfulness still prevails. Upon the perpendicular wall of the apsis appear two large ceremonial representations upon a gold ground, which, as the almost sole surviving specimens of the higher style of secular subjects, are of great interest, and, as examples of costume, quite invaluable. The picture on the right represents the relation in which the Emperor Justinian stood to the church—the figures as large as life. In splendid attire; laden with the diadem and with a purple and gold-embroidered mantle, fastened with an enormous fibula, is seen the Emperor, advancing, his hands full of costly gifts; his haughty, bloated, vulgar, but yet regular countenance, with the eyebrows elevated towards the temples, is seen in front. To him succeed a number of courtiers, doubtless also portraits, and next to



Mosaics of the 6th century in S Vitale, Ravenna representing JUSTINIAN AND THEODORA

them the easily recognisable, fair, Germanic body-guard, with sword and shield. Archbishop Maximian, with his clergy, is advancing to meet the Emperor. He, also, with his bald head, and the pathetic half-closed slits of eyes, is a characteristic portrait of the time.

The opposite picture, on the left, represents the Empress Theodora, surrounded by gorgeously attired women and attendants, in the act of entering the church. The Empress is also clad in the dark violet (purple) imperial mantle, and from her grotesque diadem hangs a whole cascade of beads and jewels, inclosing a narrow, pale, highly significant face, in whose large hollow eyes, and small sensual mouth, the whole history of that clever, imperious, voluptuous, and merciless woman is written. A chamberlain before her is drawing back a richly embroidered curtain, so as to exhibit the entrance-court of a church, betokened as such by its cleansing fountain. Justinian and Theodora are distinguished by bright glories, a homage which the artist of that time could scarcely withhold, since he evidently knew no other form of flattery.

Of somewhat inferior execution are the mosaics of the lofty quadrangular space before the apsis, representing the Old Testament symbols of the sacrifice of the mass. On the vaulting, between green gold tendrils upon a blue ground, and green upon a gold ground, are four flying angels upon globes, resembling antique Victories; below, in the four angles, are four peacocks. On the upper wall, above the apsis, two angels, gracefully hovering, hold a shield with the sign of the Redeemer; on each side, blazing with jewels, of which they are entirely constructed, are the cities of Jerusalem and Bethlehem, with vine-tendrils and birds on a blue ground above them. On either side-wall, in a curious architectural framework,* are the secular pictures we have already mentioned. Two semicircles contain the principal subjects, viz., the bloody and bloodless sacrifice of the Old Covenant. We see Abraham bearing provisions to the three young men in white garments, who are seated at table under

* D'Agincourt gives a sketch of it. See his '*Histoire de l'Art*,' Plate XVI.

a leafless but budding tree, while Sarah stands behind the door laughing. Then, again, we behold the Patriarch on the point of offering up his son Isaac, who kneels naked before him. Then Abel (an excellent and perfectly antique shepherd figure) in the act of holding up the firstling of his flock before a wooden hut; while Melchisedec (designated by a nimbus as the symbol of Christ), advancing from a temple in the form of a Basilica, pronounces a blessing over the bread and wine. The pictures then continue further the history of the Old Covenant, with Moses, first seen as a Shepherd; then drawing off his sandals before the Burning Bush (a well-conceived motive); and lastly receiving the tables of the Law upon the Mount, while the people are waiting below. Isaiah and Jeremiah, grey-headed men in white robes, appear to be vehemently agitated by the spirit of prophecy; and further upward, in similar gestures of inspiration, are seen the Four Evangelists seated with their emblems, St. Matthew looking up to the angel as if to a vision. Above, the subject is closed by fine arabesques, vine-tendrils, and birds. Finally, in the front archivolt next the dome are thirteen medallions between elegant arabesques upon a blue ground, containing representations of Christ and the Apostles; individual, portrait-like heads, several of which have suffered a later restoration. The execution of the whole front space is partially rude and superficial, especially that of the prophets and evangelists. In drawing, also, these portions are inferior to the works in the apsis, although, in that respect, they still excel those of the following century. In the delineation of animals, for example in the lion of St. Mark, a sound feeling for nature is still evinced; the same in the tree before Abraham's dwelling. In many parts the background landscape is elevated in a very remarkable manner, consisting of steep steps of rocks covered with verdure; an evident attempt to imitate the forms of reality. Unfortunately nothing more is preserved of the mosaics of the cupola and the rest of the church.

The next specimens to be considered are the mosaics in S. Apollinare Nuovo, formerly the Basilica of Theodoric the

Great, which, in all probability, were executed chiefly between the years 553 and 566, and are also perfectly unique in their way, though the principal portions, apsis and arch of triumph, have been restored. But the upper walls of the centre aisle still sparkle, from the arches up to the roof, with their original and very rich mosaic decorations. Two prodigious friezes, next above the arch, contain long processions upon a gold ground, which, belonging as they do, to the very last days of ancient art, remind us curiously of the Panathenaic procession upon the Parthenon at Athens. On the right are the martyrs and the confessors, advancing solemnly from the city of Ravenna, which is here signified by a magnificent representation of the palace of the Ostrogothic kings, with its upper and lower arcade and corner towers and domes. Through the entrance-gate a gold ground shines forth, as symbol of dominion. On the walls are the female forms of Victory in gay garments; and white hangings, richly decorated with flowers and fringes, ornament the lower arcade. The procession is advancing in slow but well-expressed movement through an avenue of palm-trees, which divide the single figures. All are clad in light-coloured garments, with crowns in their hands. Their countenances are all greatly similar, and (in contradistinction to the individual character of the figures of the apostles in the older Baptisteries and even in S. Vitale) are reduced to a few spirited lines, though still tolerably true to nature. The execution is careful, as is also the gradation of the tints. At the end of the procession, and as the goal of it, appears Christ upon a throne, the four archangels around Him—noble, solemn figures, in no respect inferior either in style or execution to those in the apsis of S. Vitale. On the left side of the church (that which was occupied by the women) we perceive a similarly arranged procession of female martyrs and confessors advancing from the suburb of Classis, recognised by its harbours and fortifications. At the head of the procession is the Adoration of the Three Kings. Upon a throne, surmounted by four beautiful angels, appears the Madonna, who, as we have said before, takes her place at this early period only in an historical sense. She is depicted as a matron of middle age;

a veil upon her head is encircled by a nimbus, which is of later introduction. Upon her lap is seated the already well-grown and fully clothed child. Of the subject of the Three Kings the greater portion has been restored, but a spiritedly expressed and active action is still discernible, as well as the splendid barbaric costume, with its richly bordered doublet, short silken mantle, and nether garments of tiger-skin. Here, as in the opposite frieze, the last portion of the subject is best treated. Further up, between the windows, are single figures of the apostles and saints standing in niches, with birds and vases between them. The dark and heavy shadowing of their white garments, and the stiff and unrefined conception of the whole, certainly indicate a somewhat later period, probably the seventh century. Quite above, and over the windows, on a very small scale, and now scarcely distinguishable, are the Miracles of our Lord.

We may next be allowed to mention the mosaics in the chapel of the archiepiscopal palace at Ravenna, which, although upon no contemptible historical grounds* attributable to an earlier age, yet in style remind us more of the latter end of the sixth century. The chapel consists of a dome upon four circular arches, on the soffits of which, upon gold ground, are sets of seven medallions, with the representations of the youthful Christ, of the apostles, and several saints, upon a blue ground, a work which resembles the thirteen circular pictures in S. Vitale, but is lighter and inferior in execution. The centre of the gold-grounded dome is occupied by a large medallion with the monogram of Christ, upheld by four simple and graceful angel figures rising from the four springings of the arch. In the four intermediate spaces are the winged emblems of the Evan-

* See Von Quast, *ibid.*, p. 16, where they are pronounced to belong to the middle of the fifth century chiefly on account of a monogram "Petrus," which is considered to refer to the then living archbishop, Petrus Chrysologos. We should rather connect it with the Archbishop Petrus IV., A.D. 569 to 574. Altogether we have taken the chronology of the mosaics partly from the already cited works of Von Quast, and partly from Platner's and Ulrich's 'Beschreibung Rom's.' Schnaase, in his 'Kunstgeschichte,' vol. iii. p. 202, assigns to S. Maria Maggiore in Rome the date of 425-430, and to S. Maria in Cosmedin, and S. Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna, a period before the year 526.

gelists, bearing the richly decorated books of the Gospel. The Lion of St. Mark is remarkable for an almost human form of head. A broad passage leads into a space beyond, terminating in a waggon roof. This is decorated with birds and flowers upon a gold ground, which are very rudely and sketchily treated, and probably belong to a still later period.

Next in order to these come such relics of the time of Justinian as have been preserved in Constantinople, namely, the mosaics in the church of S. Sophia, some portions of which appear to belong to the middle of the sixth century, and others to a later date. The whitewash, with which these mosaics have been covered since the transformation of the church into a mosque, having been on a recent occasion of repairs, temporarily removed, the opportunity was seized to copy their chief remains, which have since been given to the public in a worthy form.* All the other principal works of the time of Justinian, as for example the great cupola picture in the vestibule of the palace at Constantinople, representing the Emperor as Monarch of the World, surrounded by his court, have utterly disappeared.

We have at present only considered the more important of the still existing works of the fifth and sixth centuries,† but, according both to tradition and analogy, those which are lost must have been incomparably more splendid, more extensive, and grander in plan. All that remains for us now is to mention a few specimens, the date of which is uncertain, but which may be probably assigned to this period. In S. Pudenziana at Rome, for instance, there is a large apsis mosaic, too much restored at different times for the date to be now determinable; it belonged originally perhaps even to the fourth century, at all events not to the time of Pope Hadrian I. (A.D. 772-785), or of Hadrian III. (A.D. 884-885), as is the common opinion; for even if the building itself be proved to be of more recent date, still this work at least must have been copied from one

* See Salzenberg, 'Altchristliche Baudenkmale in Konstantinopel.'

† It must be borne in mind that every existing ancient mosaic has been necessarily subjected to repairs and restorations; the latter always in the character of the restorer's own time; so that no entire reliance can be placed on the evidence of their details.

much older. The centre represents Christ enthroned, on either hand SS. Peter and Paul, and the two female saints Praxedis and Pudentiana. These figures are seen half-length above a row of eight male half-figures in antique drapery (portraits, perhaps, of the founders), which are not placed singly side by side, but overlap each other like double profiles on a coin. Behind these figures is an arcade with a roof and glittering buildings over it. Above, in the heavens, which are represented by purple, gold-edged clouds, are the four signs of the Evangelists, and, in the centre, a richly decorated gold cross. The architectural background, the perspective arrangement of the figures, their very broad and free treatment (so far as they are not the work of the modern restorer), indicate, if we are not mistaken, the Constantinian period of art, though we are judging from what is perhaps only a copy, and at all events from a more than commonly disfigured work.

In the circular church of S. Teodoro in Rome a figure of Christ with saints, upon a gold ground, has been preserved in the end tribune. This work is probably not earlier than the seventh century, and is chiefly interesting to us here as one of the earliest specimens of the copying of the old mosaics. Christ is represented in a violet robe, with long light hair and short beard, with an expression of great benignity. He is seated in the act of benediction upon a blue, starred globe, with a long sceptre in His left hand. St. Peter, on the right, is conducting St. Theodore; and St. Paul, on the left, another youthful saint, both presenting their crowns upon their richly embroidered mantles as an offering to Christ. The figures of SS. Peter and Theodore are here exact copies of those in the corresponding subject in SS. Cosmo e Damiano, while the younger saint, with his eyes humbly cast down, is probably a new creation. From what older, and perhaps demolished picture the representation of the Christ is taken we know not. The execution is good, the shading careful, and even the nude portions are here depicted with tolerable spirit; only in the unmeaning character of the drapery is the deep decline of art apparent. The mosaics upon the arch of triumph in S. Lorenzo fuori

le mura, near Rome (towards the hinder church), bear the positive dates of A.D. 578, 590, but have been so restored and disfigured that, to all appearance, they belong to a later period. They represent Christ upon the globe of the world, surrounded by five saints, with Pope Pelagius II., the founder of the building. Finally, we may here notice the mosaics in the octagon side-chapel of S. Lorenzo in Milan, where Christ, with the apostles in white garments, and also a pastoral scene in a very ancient pre-Byzantine style of art (if we are not mistaken), decorate the semidomes of two large niches.

Next in importance to the art of mosaics must be considered that of miniature-painting, by means of which the books employed both in the service of the church and for purposes of private devotion, as also many of a worldly import, were adorned with more or less of pictorial splendour. With the reverential feeling of the times, it was usual to decorate the contents as well as the exterior of the Scriptures in the most gorgeous manner, a fashion which commenced, doubtless, with the copies of the classic authors which needed the assistance of pictorial illustration to explain those usages and costumes which had passed away with the glory of the ancient world. In this class of art the range of subjects is far more extensive than in that of the catacomb or mosaic pictures; and some of the earliest specimens of miniature-painting present to us once more the antique mode of composition in such grandeur and variety that we can only the more regret the treasures of this kind which have perished. To those surviving belongs the Book of Joshua in the Library of the Vatican. This is a parchment roll of more than thirty feet long, entirely covered with historical scenes; according to an inscription upon it, not of earlier date than the seventh or eighth century, but doubtless from some work of the best early Christian time. This interesting specimen has the appearance of a carefully but boldly and freely drawn sketch, executed in few colours, and differing greatly from the highly finished splendour of later Byzantine miniatures. There is a spirit in the composition, a beauty in some of the motives, and a richness of invention in

the whole, which assign to this work the highest place among the properly historical representations of early Christian times. Costume and weapons are here still perfectly antique: Joshua is always distinguished by the nimbus, as are also the fine symbolical female forms, with sceptres and mural crowns, which represent the besieged and conquered cities; for the whole landscape is expressed by symbols, mountain and river deities, &c. In the battle scenes the wildest action is often most happily expressed, though the artist, of course, shows little knowledge either of perspective or of the relative proportion of the figures. The copyist of the later period is discernible, almost solely, by his obvious ignorance of the drawing of joints and extremities. In this respect the celebrated Virgil of the Vatican, No. 3225, as an original work of the fourth or fifth century, appears to greater advantage, though, in composition, it does not equal the Book of Joshua. The colours, where they are not so rubbed away as to exhibit the drawing beneath, are light in tint, and have considerable body. The shading is slight, and, as yet, not too minute. The drawing displays a superabundance of motive from the antique, though, in the action of the figures, it is already very inanimate.* Of the same early period, but much more defective in drawing, appears to us the Book of Genesis in the Imperial Library at Vienna. In the Ambrosian Library at Milan fifty-eight miniatures have been preserved, fragments of a manuscript

* The above-mentioned and other miniatures may be judged of in the tolerably authentic tracings in D'Agincourt's 'Histoire de l'Art,' Tab. XIX., where the Virgil especially, which, however, does not further concern us here, is upon the whole well rendered. A very remarkable Syrian book of the Gospels, executed A.D. 586 in a Mesopotamian monastery by one Rabula, a calligraphist, exists in the Laurentian Library at Florence. If we may form any conclusion from the specimens in D'Agincourt, Plate 27, it appears that the decline of art took a different direction here to that which is apparent among the Byzantians. Here we are struck by full, round, though otherwise conventional forms, accompanied by the greatest spirit of action and gesture. The Ascension, which D'Agincourt has selected as a specimen, would, the period considered, give a very high idea of the composition of these miniatures. At all events, the figure of Christ hovering among angels, and the animated group of apostles and angels on each side of the Madonna, is not conceived without grandeur, though wretched in execution. By the same hand, it may here be observed, is one of the first known representations of the Crucifixion.

Homer. These also date from the fourth or fifth century, and in the broad, solid manner in which the colours are applied, as well as in the treatment of the drapery, have quite the antique look. At the same time the details are still more weakly and unskilfully executed, and the composition not only scattered as in the Vatican Virgil, but either confused or monotonous.* A Vatican Terence of the ninth century is, perhaps, the very rude copy of an excellent work of classic times. Besides these we find beautiful single figures and compositions of early Christian and antique feeling scattered in various separate manuscripts even in the later middle ages, showing that, in the gradual decline of the powers of invention, it became a matter of convenience to copy what already existed.

As early as after the conquest of Italy by the Longobards, but principally after the seventh century, there occurs a division in the schools of painting: those artists who persevere exclusively in the old track may be observed to sink into barbaric ignorance of form, while on the other hand, for mosaics and all higher kinds of decorative work, the style and materials of Byzantine art, which we shall consider in the next chapter, come more and more into vogue. Thus it happened that the more important Italian works of the seventh and succeeding centuries are found to follow the Byzantine style, while the lesser class of works, such as miniatures and a few surviving sculptures, seem (occasionally at least) to run wild in a total licence of style which may be designated as Longobardian. The miniatures consist of rudely daubed outlines filled up with patches of colour.†

* 'Iliadis fragmenta cum Picturis, &c., edente Aug. Majo, &c.,' Milan, 1819.—Fifty eight outline drawings, much restored by some feeble modern hand.

† For information on the Longobardian style, see Von Rumohr's 'Ital. Forschungen,' vol. i. p. 186, where a catalogue of the few adducible specimens is given, consisting of the remains of the Frescoes in the Crypt of the Cathedral at Assisi, and in the subterranean chapel of SS. Nazzaro e Celso at Verona (where a glory and Biblical scenes are rudely painted upon a white ground), several manuscripts, &c. Unfortunately, nothing is preserved of the Longobardian historical subjects which Queen Theolinda caused to be painted in her palace at Monza at the beginning of the seventh century. According to Paulus Diaconus the old national costume of the Longobards was correctly portrayed in them. The Longobardian diplomas at Monte Casino and other places generally commence with a miniature.

As specimens of the sculptural school we may cite the relief on the hinder door of S. Fidele in Como, with the subject of Habakkuk carried by angels by the hair of his head. In these short, thick figures, with their coarse, heavy countenances and extremities, it would be difficult to recognise even the faintest trace of ancient art. Nevertheless we are fully conscious that in these apparently formless productions of conventionality, as opposed to the more legitimate Byzantine rigidities, there lay a germ of freedom from which, later, a new school of development was to spring.



PART II.

THE BYZANTINE STYLE.*

THE commencement of the Byzantine school is generally placed at an earlier period than that of the fifth century which we here assume. The reasons which lead us to differ in this respect have been already alluded to. Up to the beginning of the seventh century art appears to us, as far as Roman civilization still existed, to be essentially one and the same in the east and the west, and therefore entitled to no other name than that of late Roman or early Christian. If, as early as the fifth and sixth centuries, the foundations of that school are discernible which, later, developed itself more especially into the art of the Eastern Empire, we must not, on that account, assume for it, at that time, the appellation of Byzantine, but rather designate it only as that late Roman style which, wherever the Roman element was not too thoroughly amalgamated with the Gothic, was common to the whole ancient world. It was not until after the middle of the seventh century that this state of things broke up. Under the Emperor Justinian the Eastern Empire acquired that form which adhered to it in the following centuries; while, in an intellectual sense, it is from that period also that the Byzantine element may be said to have attained its full development. In Italy, on the other hand, this was precisely the period of the deepest decline of art. After having surrendered up its mildest rulers, the Ostrogoths, to the armies of Justinian, and submitted itself to the Eastern dominion, it was next invaded by the Longobards, who brought about the most singular division of the country. For while the great mass of the centre of the land fell to the invaders, the important coast regions, including the largest

* Byzantine or Greek (Christian) art—for the terms are identical—is the offspring of the Eastern Church, influenced originally by ancient Greek art.

cities, and all the islands, remained in possession of the Byzantines. This, therefore, was the time for this portion of the territory, perpetually threatened as it was by the Longobards, to attach itself more closely to the protecting power of Byzantium. Now also the period had arrived when the decline both of art and civilization may be considered to have so increased that an influence from without had become indispensable, and therefore it is that for that universal style of art which, in the seventh century, prevailed alike in Rome as in Naples, in Apulia and Calabria as in Sicily, in Ravenna and the Pentapolis as in the rising city of Venice, and even partially in Genoa—differing as it does from the previous late Roman school—we rightly assume the title of *Byzantine*. The victories of Charlemagne had, later, no power to destroy or interrupt the deeply founded connection between the schools of Italy and Constantinople, while Lower Italy and that city which was hereafter to play such a conspicuous part in the history of art, namely Venice, remained inaccessible to his attacks.

The diffusion of the Byzantine style may be conjecturally accounted for in various ways. There is no doubt that from the great nursery school of Constantinople many a Greek artist emigrated into Italy. At that time the Eastern capital abounded unquestionably in workshops, whence the provinces were supplied with innumerable works of every kind, from a statue or painting, to the capital of a pillar. The monasteries of Constantinople and Thessalonica (?), and those of Mount Athos, we may regard as the great central *ateliers* of painting; while, on the other hand, it is certain that many an artist from the West pursued his studies in the chief places of artistic activity in the East. In this way there ensued in Italy every grade of relationship with Byzantine art, from the directest school connexion, to the merest superficial influence. Finally, we shall endeavour to show that the Byzantine style, in connexion with the state of civilization at that time, was precisely the most easily communicable in outward forms which the history of art, in the higher civilized nations, has ever known. So much so, that works executed at third hand, for instance, by the Western scholars

of a Western master—himself having been perhaps but for a short time the pupil of some emigrated Greek artist—differ in no great degree from the original models in Constantinople itself.

The indisputable advantage which Byzantium possessed over the Western countries, in point of art, consisted in its freedom from all barbarian invasion, in its totally undisturbed tradition and cultivation (or perversion) of ancient art, and in that tendency to neatness and elegance of execution, such as the luxury of a great capital demanded, which went hand in hand with these advantages. It matters not how widely the modes of composition differed from those of antiquity—how little there was in common between the heavy, gloomy varnished colours of this school, and the light, graceful colouring of the old Roman works—it was still of the greatest importance that there should have been one spot in the world where artistic activity on a large scale never faltered; just as it was important, in a political sense, for the earlier middle ages of the West to have always possessed, in the Byzantine government, an undisturbed normal form for their authority in times of emergency. But we must remember that no art is nourished by tradition and colossal undertakings alone. Her proper existence can only be supplied from those thousand moral sources which we comprehend in the widest sense by the term “national life;” and in Byzantium these sources were either greatly troubled or entirely sealed. The worn-out forms of the old world are here found, to use a hackneyed but most suitable illustration, embalmed like mummies for the wonder of posterity. The monarchs who sat upon the throne, surrounded with oriental pomp and splendour, were, for the most part, either cruel despots or cowards. The courtiers around them concealed beneath the disguise of the most abject servility a disposition to perpetual intrigue and sanguinary conspiracy.* With this state of things among the higher classes, the condition of the enslaved people, at least in the capital, stood in consistent relation. It is significant that the public games were

* We refer here to the masterly characteristics of Byzantine manners in Schnaase's ‘Kunstgeschichte,’ vol. iii. p. 93.

their highest object of interest, and that the same people in whom every political idea was extinguished, could yet bring about a great general insurrection by their party zeal for this or that division of the racers in the Hippodrome. In other respects, oriental luxury and sensuality, and Roman thirst of gain, usurped, between them, all the interests of life. Science had degenerated to a system of dry compilation—all literary activity was dead, and all national life unknown. Even Christianity, which, precisely at that time, was laying the foundations for the future unity of Europe among the Teutonic races, was to be traced here in the Empire of the East only by its perversions. Dogmatical disputes upon the absolutely Incomprehensible extended from the clergy, not only to the court and government, which it involved in the fiercest contests, but served also for an object of pastime and dispute to the common people, with whom, even in better times, the passion for argument had become second nature; while, wherever real piety showed herself, she was obstructed by monkish austerity, or cruel intolerance. The most important political event of Byzantine times (next to the wars with the Persians, Saracens, and Hungarians), namely, the controversy about images, is connected with the fanaticism which four centuries of disputes had nourished into full growth. The origin and history of this controversy are well known. The reproach of idol worship, which Jew and Mahometan had alike cast upon the richly decorated Christian service, and the hope of converting both the Israelite and the infidel, had suggested to the Emperor Leo the Isaurian the idea of doing away with pictures altogether. His coercive measures for this purpose began in the year 730, and a struggle ensued which lasted for above a century—the whole State and all the interests belonging to it, foreign as most of them were to the question, being involved in the dispute. The triumph of the image partisans was first decided by the tumultuous Synod of 842, though even this was only ephemeral, inasmuch as the province of painting and that of flat relief were ultimately alone retained, while the long languishing art of pure sculpture was entirely condemned. No visible disadvantage to the cause of art is

traceable, however, to this period of struggle, during which not only profane painting, but religious painting also, thanks to many an obstinate monk, continued to be practised. Still, it may be here and there remarked that the last relics of freedom and nature disappeared from Byzantine works at this time, and that they now first assume that hieratical stiffness of type which seems to bid defiance equally to the heresy which opposed them, and to the image-proscribing tenets of Islamism. With this is further connected the fact that at this time (the eighth and ninth centuries) the representation of the Passion of our Lord, and of the Martyrdoms of the Saints, subjects of which art had hitherto been ignorant, first obtained in the Byzantine Schools.* It must be borne in mind that artists themselves had fallen martyrs to the cause in the fury of the struggle; and that the Church also now stood firm enough to afford to exhibit the image of the suffering as well as of the triumphant Saviour. An ecclesiastical decision, ten years prior to the question of images, shows that in respect of the Passion a particular change in religious sentiment had arisen. The Council of Constantinople in the year 692 (generally denominated the Quinisext council) had decided that the direct human representation of the Saviour was to be preferred to the symbolical, namely, to that of the Lamb, hitherto adopted; a decision to which the whole world of art was expected to conform. This was a formal declaration of the extinction of that allegorical taste which had been proper to the earliest Christian age, and of the transition from the symbolical to the historical, which we have already had occasion to point out in the mosaics of S. Paolo fuori le mura at Rome. The speedy introduction of the Crucifixion pictures was a necessary consequence, for the redeeming office of the Saviour could now be hardly otherwise expressed. Besides, the Council expressly speaks of "Him who bore the sins of the world," by which the representation of His Passion, if not positively of His

* Though, as early as the fourth century, Bishop Asterius, of Amasia, mentions a picture of the martyrdom of St. Euphemia, yet this must be considered as an accidental exception, which in a time, as it were, of artistic fermentation, will not be considered strange. Ecclesiastical art had doubtless nothing to do with it.

Crucifixion, was indicated. Soon after this, in the year 730, Pope Gregory II., in his letter to Leo the Isaurian, makes mention of the various scenes of the Passion, *παθήματα*, as feasible and praiseworthy subjects of the walls of churches. What still remained wanting to direct the new school was supplied by the already mentioned modes of thought which the image-question had developed.

In order more rightly to estimate the Byzantine style within the limits we have prescribed to ourselves, we must once more give a glance at the events we have been recording. Ancient art, already in the third century deep in decline, then stripped of its old subjects and animated with the new spirit which a new religion supplied, had still so much vitality left, from the fourth to the sixth century, as to create new types of art, in which the element of the sublime can be as little denied as in the older Greek forms—utterly inferior as they are in other respects. It was not only during the most wretched period of despotism, but in the midst also of that misery occasioned by the irruption of the northern races, that this new tendency had been developed, and had found in the material of mosaic a brilliant and suitable mode of representation. Replete with quiet dignity, appropriate in action, with a solemn flow of drapery, gigantic in size, the figures thus expressed look down upon us from their altar tribunes with a fascination, both of an historic and æsthetic nature, which the unprejudiced spectator can hardly resist. Nevertheless, at the same period, the art of dramatic historical painting, even the very power of depicting the movements of life, had sunk into utter oblivion—showing that the study of nature had ceased, as in every epoch of decline, to be regarded either as the source or auxiliary of artistic inspiration. It is curious to remark how one portion of the figure after the other now becomes rigid—the joints, the extremities, and at last even the countenance, which assumes a morose stricken expression. The step is, as it were, arrested, the garments are loaded with inexpressive folds, the art of decoration degenerates even in the midst of apparently the greatest wealth of ornament, and the gold ground, which we have seen in the Ravenna mosaics of the

sixth century supplanting the blue, now extinguishes all the finer sense of colour, and substitutes for it a false gaudiness.

It was the Byzantine school which first brought art to this state of prostration, and then, accompanied as it was by a highly developed but merely technical skill, kept her stationary there for many a long century.*

From the totally superficial and defective representation of the human form observable in these works, it is evident that the Byzantine artist now rested satisfied with a mere conventional type, from which all semblance of reality was banished. The figures are long and meagre, the action stiff and angular, hands and feet attenuated and powerless. At the same time a singular pretension to correctness of anatomy forms a more odious contrast to the departure from nature in all other respects. Figures, in which no one limb is rightly disposed, have still, as far as the form is seen, the full complement of ribs in the body, and a most unnecessary display of muscle in the arms. How utterly all power had departed from this school is shown by the most abject restriction to quietness of attitude; and where the slightest action is attempted, be it only a single step, the figure appears to be stumbling on level ground. Sometimes the earth beneath their feet is entirely omitted, so that the figures are relieved upon their gold ground as if in the air, unless the painter have added a little footstool or pedestal. In many cases, instead of a living form we seem to have half-animated corpses before us, an impression which the sight of the head only increases. Here we see at the first glance that a new relation has arisen between the painter and his picture. In the late Roman works which we have hitherto been considering, however closely the conventional type of the Church might confine the painter, still his efforts to express the elevated, and even the beautiful, bespeak a certain freedom

* We allude here, and in the following pages, only to the original works of the Byzantine school, not to the copies of older and better works which are occasionally mistaken for them. For instance, we must warn our readers of plate 62 of D'Agincourt's '*Histoire d'Art*,' where a Vatican Bible manuscript of the fourteenth century is given as a proof of the "apparent resuscitation" of the Byzantine art of that period; whereas the first glance suffices to show that this is only the copy of an excellent early work but little inferior to the Book of Joshua we have described. See p. 39.

of action; here, the very object of art was changed in character. The Byzantine artist was generally a monk,* and as such opposed to the usual enjoyments of life. His art partakes of the same feeling, inasmuch as he substitutes that which had become his individual ideal for that which is universal in human nature. Hence the dryness and meagreness of his figures, and, still more so, the gloomy moroseness of his countenances. The large, ill-shaped eyes stare straight forward; a deep, unhappy line, in which ill-humour seems to have taken up its permanent abode, extends from brow to brow, beneath the bald and heavily wrinkled forehead. The nose has the broad ridge of the antique still left above, but is narrow and thin below, the anxious nostrils corresponding with the deep lines on each side of them. The mouth is small and neatly formed, but the somewhat protruded lower lip is in character with the melancholy of the whole picture. As long as such representations refer only to grey-headed saints and ecclesiastics, they may be tolerated; that is, when the countenance does not become absolutely heartless and malicious; but when the introduction of a kind of smirk is intended to convey the idea of a youthful countenance, the only difference being a somewhat less elongated face, with the omission of a few wrinkles, and the shortening of beard and moustache, this type becomes intolerable. Even the Madonna, to whose countenance the meagreness of asceticism was hardly applicable, here assumes a thoroughly peevish expression, and was certainly never represented under so unattractive an aspect. Altogether these heads leave us totally unmoved; not only because, with all their deeply wrinkled gravity, they appear utterly incapable of any exertion of moral will, or energy of love or hatred, but equally of any depth of thought. Draperies and figures agree perfectly together; nevertheless, in the form of the person and in the chief lines of the dress, a spark of antique feeling is still discernible. The artistic arrangement of drapery which was common towards the end

* Whether the Emperor Porphyrogenitus (tenth century) pursued the art of painting for pastime, or for an exercise of devotion, is uncertain. See Luitprand, 'Antapod.,' iii. 37.

of the sixth century seems from that time to have been arrested. But though the Byzantine artist never bestowed a thought in the execution of these portions, or rather was incapable of approaching the slightest reality of form, yet, as, according to the fashion of the time, the masses had to be filled up with an accumulation of detail, so there arose the absurdest complication of breaks, and bends, and parallel folds, all executed with the greatest neatness, and brought out with the utmost heightening of gold. Where the subject, however, admitted of no traditional arrangement of drapery, as for instance in the richly embroidered and jewel-studded costume of Byzantine fashion, all attempt at any artistic form ceases, and the garment, with all its gorgeous ornament, lies flat and without a fold, as if glued upon a wooden figure.* It is unnecessary to remind the reader that these defects did not suddenly arise, but crept gradually in. In the eleventh century they were at their height, and, in the stiff conventionalities of later works, we are often reminded of Chinese art. In point of fact, Chinese art stands in a similar relation to the old Indian as the Byzantine to the Roman, only that Chinese painting (naïve as it occasionally was) found its climax in a kind of grimacing activity, and the Byzantine in an unhappy-looking immobility. The forms of the latter do not appear to be impeded, as among a primitive people, by want of skill, but by the innate slavishness and timidity of the artist, who set himself to animate a lifeless corpse, and then was afraid of the ghost he had raised.

Under such a complication of adverse circumstances we have no right to look for any independence of composition; and whenever we are surprised, as, for instance, in the mosaics, with ingenious and symmetrical arrangements, and, as in miniatures, with fine and animated composition, and with the antique personification of scenery and abstract objects, we may safely give all the praise to a foregone period. An art which

* See D'Agincourt's very instructive miniature of the twelfth century, plate 58, where the Emperor Alexius Comnenus I., attired in just such a formless and smoothly spread dress, is standing before the representation of the triumphant Saviour, whose drapery is treated after the antique, and is doubtless imitated from some older work.

no longer created a single animated figure, but was content to borrow a wretchedly disfigured antique motive at tenth hand ; that had so accustomed itself to a deathlike stillness of form that it dared not even attempt the variety of a profile, was ill adapted to venture on new ground. Where this was indispensable, as, for instance, in the martyr subjects, which are not found in any older works, the thorough powerlessness of the art is shown. The ceremonial and procession subjects, consisting of mere stationary figures, were an easy task : for example, the representation of eight persons, all with a repetition of the same attitude, lying in the dust before an emperor ; or a Synod, showing the patriarchs seated with the emperor in a circle, surrounded by numerous ecclesiastics, while a vanquished heretic lies prostrate on the floor. But this is not the realisation of historical painting, and even in the newly introduced subjects of martyrdom and crucifixion a regular decline of art is obvious, which, in the person of the Saviour, may be said to be symbolically expressed. The first known Byzantine representation of the crucifixion (ninth century) depicts Him in an upright position, and with outstretched arms, triumphant even in death. The later pictures show Him with closed eyes and sunken form, as if the relaxed limbs had no longer the power to sustain the body, which is hanging swayed towards the right side.

But in this degenerate art older as well as newer subjects were condemned to endless repetition. In a closer examination of Byzantine works in the mass, we arrive at the strange fact that the old types were not only, as in antique art, and in the art of the western middle ages, reproduced in fresh forms, but that one painter absolutely copied from another, and that in the most slavish manner ; and that exactly the same forms, position, action, and expression, in exactly the same arrangement, recur, for instance, in the mosaics of St. Mark at Venice, in the Constantinopolitan miniatures, and in the frescoes of Greek monasteries ; thus showing, beyond all question, the worn-out state of the ground we are treading. Not that the blame rests solely with the artists ; the Church, inasmuch as she openly assumed the direction and control of art, necessitated such a state of things. In one of the argu-

ments adduced by an advocate for images in the second Nicene Council,* A.D. 787, it is clearly said, "it is not the invention (ἐφεύρεσις) of the painter which creates the picture, but an inviolable law, a tradition (θεσμοθεσία και παράδοσις) of the Catholic Church. It is not the painters but the holy fathers who have to invent and to dictate. To them manifestly belongs the composition (διάταξις) to the painter only the execution (τέχνη)." If, therefore, the Church had once decided upon the most fitting representation of any sacred subject, there existed no grounds for ever departing from it; and we shall see, in point of fact, that the Greek painters, including those in the Russian Church, to this day scrupulously submit themselves to this principle; only it must be remembered that no church would have ventured to dictate to a really living art, and that the deadness of the Byzantine school was as much the cause as the effect of such ecclesiastical interference. The system of copying had begun long before the Church interposed its laws. Fortunately for art, the holy fathers did not, after 787, altogether prescribe any new mode of representation, but permitted the copying of those older compositions which had been sanctified by custom. Thus frequently it happened that excellent inventions of the Constantinian, Theodosian, and Justinian times have been preserved, and that of course with more or less truth and beauty, according to the proximity in which the copyist stood to the original; copies at fifth and sixth hand being only true to the original in general arrangement, and in detail strictly Byzantine. Even when the artist has to compose afresh he always adheres, in the single figures, to these perpetually recurring types, so that only the arrangement, and here and there the attitude (the latter often wretched enough), are altered. Byzantine art, in short, had degenerated into a mere luxuriously conducted handicraft, and precisely on that account did it admit of that incredible ease of imitation with which we shall become better acquainted in its later stages. It was altogether a superficial mechanical art, the

* Printed in the Acts of this Council (*Conciliorum collectio regia maxima. Paris, 1714, vol. iv. col. 360*), which also contain many interesting facts connected with the history of art.

subjects for which had, once for all, been definitely fixed ; and ultimately, as we shall see, the capacity of the artist was only regulated by the number and quality of tracings which he had been able to procure from the works of his predecessors.

This handicraft continued to be pursued with care and industry till into the thirteenth century. We do this art no injustice in regarding, for instance, the treatment of colour it displays—which, considering the circumstances, was excellent—also as a mechanical merit ; for as far as imitation of nature is concerned there is as little reality intended in colouring as in drawing, and the highest possible value that can be assigned to it is of a decorative kind. In respect of colouring also, as well as of drawing, we must take care not to confound the copy with the original : for instance, not to extol the colouring of some excellent miniatures of the time of the Macedonian emperors as that of the Byzantine school, inasmuch as the better part of that quality, as well as of the drawing and invention, belongs to the best late Roman time. Not but what the feeling for colour, generally speaking, was longer preserved than that of drawing ; and, especially in the mode of applying the pigments, there is a skill and precision observable, which, considering the otherwise absolute deadness of the art, is marvellous. Even the colouring materials in the miniatures appear to be selected and supplied with chemical knowledge. Over the outline which the pencil had traced a lively unbroken colour was usually laid, and then lights, shadows, and folds inserted, with darker and lighter tints, and at last, generally, with delicate hatchings. It is significant of the totally unplastic feeling of that time that the gradations were produced by mere strokes, without any breadth of shadow. The effect, however, is always particularly neat. A decided mannerism is earliest traceable in the treatment of the flesh tones, which are at first of an orange colour, and then of a dark brick-red ; and finally, with their well-known green shadows and rosy lights, remind us of rouged, but already half-decomposed bodies. Thus, in proportion as the antique models receded from view, the colouring became cruder and more motley, and the outlines more

apparent, while after the conquest of Constantinople by the Crusaders, A.D. 1204, by which the wealth and luxury of this city was greatly undermined, there seemed a totally careless sketchiness of treatment. Long before that also an unfortunate vehicle of a gummy description seems to have come into use, which soon dulled the colours. The backgrounds, the nimbuses, and, after the eleventh century, the high lights also, consist generally of gold, which is laid on solidly and unsparingly. And, as if the precious metal could not be sufficiently brought into requisition, the garments of imperial or holy personages are often entirely of gold materials, with splendid embroideries. That use of gold which might be supposed to be applicable to the subject itself, as in the representation of the glory of Heaven, is not to be taken into account here, for in Byzantine art a gold ground was used for every possible occasion. For, as we have said before, it is the nature of a sunken art to endeavour to make amends for its incapacity for all original composition by the splendour of its materials.* The haggard, morose figures, with their brick-red or olive-coloured flesh tones, look, as may be supposed, only the more wretched on this account. A trace of remaining vigour, perhaps the only change which deserves the name of an improvement, was developed in the department of decoration. To this period we are indebted for the most splendid arabesques of mixed foliage and animals; rich architectural fancies in margins for manuscripts or pictures, and such-like; almost all executed with the utmost care and neatness. At the same time the more natural, and therefore the more consistent, antique mode of decoration is here lost in a certain calligraphic conventionality, which, however, does not exclude a perfectly intelligent mode of treatment. In this respect Byzantium served as a model to the image-hating Saracenic art, and probably received many an impulse from her in return.†

* The excessive luxury in other respects, in churches and palaces, with which this school of painting was associated, may be gathered from Hurter's '*Geschichte Innocenz III.*' vol. i., under the title '*ein Gang durch Constantinopel.*'

† The Saracens also borrowed from Byzantium the materials of mosaic work, the Arabic name of which, *jsefysa*, is evidently from the Greek

As regards the only earlier Byzantine painting of a monumental kind, namely, mosaic work, but few specimens have been preserved in the East, and of these we have no illustrations to refer to, and only very defective notices. There is, however, reason to conclude that the splendour of the Justinian time was often equalled, if not surpassed. The palatial edifices of the Emperor Theophilus (829–842) sparkled with the richest ornaments. Cinnamus also informs us that, even three centuries later, the palace-walls of the richer courtiers were decorated with the deeds of ancient heroes, also with battle and hunting subjects, in which the valour of the reigning monarch in conflict with enemies or wild beasts was made duly prominent; though one high functionary, by way of exception, ventured in this manner to commemorate the victories of his country's arch foe, the Sultan of Iconium. These mosaics having all disappeared, we are meanwhile, virtually reduced to the Italian mosaics of the seventh century, which are by no means to be ranked as thorough specimens of the Byzantine style; we are, therefore, left to decide here and there upon the degree of Byzantine influence very much according to our own judgment. Whether and how far the prevailing modes of thought in Italy were favourable to its intrusion, are questions which must be left to their own merits. The common fundamental features of these works can but be estimated by the chronological analysis we have already pursued.

Standing upon the boundary-line between the earlier and later styles, we may now mention some mosaics in Rome of the seventh century, in which, although we are made aware of the existence of a novel element, no distinction can well be drawn between the decline of the former and the rise of the latter. The most considerable specimens are the mosaics in the tribune of S. Agnese fuori le mura, A.D. 625–638. In the subject itself, connected as it is with the gradual alterations in the Church service, we find a sig-

ψήφωσις. When, at the commencement of the eighth century, peace was concluded between Byzantium and the Caliph Walid, this latter potentate stipulated for a certain quantity of *fsefysa* for the decoration of the new mosque at Damascus. In the middle of the tenth century, also, the Emperor Romanus II. sent the Caliph Abderrhaman III. the materials for the mosaics of the Kibla in the mosque at Cordova.

nificant deviation from the general rule. Instead of the figure of Christ appears that of S. Agnese standing between the Popes Symmachus and Honorius I., the restorers of the Church; while the indication of the Godhead is confined to a hand protruding from the heavens and placing a crown upon the head of the saint. The execution, in contradistinction to the usual neatness of the Byzantine school, is here, as in most of the later Roman mosaics, rude and even poor; a circumstance which is not to be wondered at, for Rome stood to Byzantium in the relation of a provincial town, and had much fallen in the world even in the external means of art. The middle tones are at last entirely omitted (in the draperies they appear to have been later inserted), the vitrified cubes are larger and no longer fit in closely together. More significant still than this rudeness of outward material is the want of intrinsic feeling which is evident in the three figures with their straight folds, only represented by dark stripes, their stiff, deathlike attitudes, and the staring Byzantine pomp of the saint's garments. The already highly conventional heads consist only of a few strokes; the red cheeks of S. Agnese are mere heavy blotches; the floor, it is true, has not quite vanished from under the feet of the figures, but it is reduced to the smallest indication. The ground, as in almost all succeeding mosaics, is of gold. Still plainer indications of the Byzantine style are seen in the very extensive mosaics in the Oratorio di S. Venanzio, a side chapel of the Baptistery to the Lateran, A. D. 640-642. In the altar apsis, between eight saints, appears the Madonna standing with outstretched arms. Above are half-length figures of Christ and two angels rising out of gaudy clouds. On the walls, on each side of the apsis, are four saints, and above, between the three windows, the signs of the Evangelists and of the cities of Jerusalem and Bethlehem. Christ and the angels are painted rudely, but still with dignity and freedom, and remind us, in their tolerably flowing forms, of the period of the 6th century. On the other hand, the sixteen saints, all standing motionless one beside another, as well as the Madonna (who appears for the first time thus positively as

their centre), are totally Byzantine. In their garments also the folds and shadows are indicated by a mere stripe of dark conventional colour, and even in the chief motives there is a want of intelligence of which the foregoing century affords no example. Similar in style, and almost contemporary in date (A. D. 642-649), are the mosaics of the small altar apsis of S. Stefano Rotondo, upon the Coelian Hill, in which a brilliantly decorated cross is represented between the two standing figures of SS. Primus and Felicianus. On the upper end of the cross (very tastefully introduced) appears a small head of Christ with a nimbus, over which the hand of the Father is extended in benediction. A single figure in mosaic exists as an altar-piece in S. Pietro in Vincoli. It is intended for St. Sebastian, and was vowed to the church by Pope Agathon, on occasion of the plague in 680, and doubtless executed soon after this date. As a solitary specimen of this kind it is very remarkable. There is no analogy between this figure and the usual youthful type of St. Sebastian subsequently adopted. On the contrary, the saint is represented here as an old man with white hair and beard, carrying the crown of martyrdom in his hand, and draped from head to foot in true Byzantine style. In his countenance there is still some life and dignity. The more careful shading also of the drapery shows that, in a work intended to be so much exposed to the gaze of the pious, more pains was bestowed than usual; nevertheless the figure, upon the whole, is very inanimate: the ground is blue. In the church of S. Giorgio in Velabro the semi-dome of the tribune is now occupied by a fresco, probably the copy of a mosaic, and, as probably, the copy of the very one which was placed in this church at the time of its erection, A. D. 682. The Saviour (copied from the splendid figure in the church of SS. Cosmo e Damiano) is standing upon the globe of the world, between the Virgin and St. Peter, St. George and St. Sebastian. The subordinate position of the Virgin here compels us to assign to this work an original of the earliest date, for even at this time (682), and much more so later, the Virgin with the infant Saviour on her knees assumes the central place.

To this period (probably from 671 to 677) belong the last mosaic decorations of importance at Ravenna, viz., those in the splendid basilica of S. Apollinare in Classe; which, now that the history of art has sustained an irreparable injury in the destruction of S. Paolo fuori le mura at Rome, by fire, alone give us any idea of the manner in which whole rows of pictures and symbols in mosaics were employed to ornament the interior of churches. In the spandrels, between the arches of the centre aisle, we observe an almost perfect collection of those earliest symbols of Christian art, from the simple monogram to the Good Shepherd and the Fisherman, which we described at the beginning of this work, while above the arch in a row of medallions are the portraits of the Archbishops of Ravenna;* of course not the original works—which, owing to the destruction of the surface of these walls by that enemy to art Sigismund Malatesta, Lord of Rimini, were entirely lost—but apparently correct copies. The heads here, as formerly in the pictures of the Popes in S. Paolo fuori le mura, are given full in front, the profile being totally unknown to that art. The mosaics, however, in and above the apsis, are old and genuine—remarkable relics of that time when the church of Ravenna, in league with Byzantium, once more declared itself upon an equality with the Roman Church, and sought by paying honour to its own patron saint, St. Apollinaris (the scholar of St. Peter), to place him upon a level with that apostle. The order and arrangement of these mosaics declare this intention in the clearest way. They exemplify, namely, the glorification of the Church of Ravenna. In the semidome of the apsis, upon a gold ground, with light pink and light blue clouds, appears a blue circle studded with gold stars and set in jewels, and, within this, a splendidly decorated cross with a half-length figure of Christ in the centre. On each side of the circle are the half-length figures of Moses and Elijah emerging from the clouds, both, on account of their transfiguration, very youthfully depicted. Further below, upon a

* In the Western Church also there existed a similar work. The cathedral of Nicæa displayed the portraits of the 318 bishops who presided at the council there.

meadow with trees, in the centre of the whole, stands St. Apollinaris, his arms raised in benediction, surrounded by fifteen sheep. On the lower walls appear four Ravenna bishops, on a blue ground, under canopies with draperies and chandeliers, and on each side are two larger pictures of the sacrifices of Abel, Melchisedek, and Abraham, and, but little in character with the foregoing, the Granting of the Privileges to the Church of Ravenna. In all these works the drawing is in every way inferior to those of the sixth century; the execution, however, is very careful, with more middle tones than usual, the four bishops excepted, who are rudely and sketchily treated, and are only distinguished by more powerful and less conventional heads. These mosaics, though doubtless executed within the shadow of the exarchal residence, are less entitled to the term "Byzantine" than the Roman works we have just described, inasmuch as the figures only partake in the slightest degree of that stiff lifelessness which characterises the saints in S. Venanzio and others. The draperies, also, in spite of a frequent want of meaning in the arrangement, have greater dignity and beauty of folds. On the other hand, a sensible decline in the feeling for nature is here observable, on comparing the long-legged ugly sheep surrounding St. Apollinaris, with those in the church of SS. Cosmo and Damiano, or the totally conventional-shaped trees with that before Abraham's hut in S. Vitale. Nevertheless, the influence of Byzantium may be considered to have been here restricted to the arrangement alone; especially as we find a mere saint occupying the central place which had hitherto been assigned to Christ, while the presence of the Saviour is only, as in S. Stefano Rotondo, indicated by the cross. The two side pictures of the lower wall merit also a closer examination, especially the three sacrifices, which are here combined in one really spirited composition, and in point of execution are decidedly the best.* Beneath an open curtain, behind a

* If we consider how habitual the practice of copying had become in the late Roman time, we shall hesitate perhaps to assign the invention of this work to 671-677. The figure of Abel is, at all events, a direct imitation of that in S. Vitale. Too many churches, however, with their respective mosaics, have disappeared in Ravenna (the cathedral, the principal church

covered table, sits the venerable white-haired Melchisedek, (type of Christ), in diadem and crimson mantle, in act of breaking the bread. On the left Abel is seen advancing, in figure of a half-naked youth in linen ehlamys, carrying a lamb. On the right, Abraham, an old man in white robe, is leading his son, who is not represented naked (as in S. Vitale), but wears a yellow robe. The corresponding picture, the Granting of the Privileges, is slighter, and inferior in drawing and execution, so that, for example, the outlines of the heads are rudely conspicuous. Three imperial youths, with nimbus, are advancing from a curtained door of the palace—Constantine, who is clad in the crimson mantle, Heraclius, and Tiberius.* On the right, quietly looking on, stands the Archbishop of Ravenna surrounded by four ecclesiastics, one of whom is receiving from Constantine a scroll with a red inscription, *Privilegia*. Here an obvious Byzantine stiffness is apparent, as compared with the two ceremonial pictures in S. Vitale. Upon the wall above the tribune, upon a strip of blue ground, may be seen, glimmering through the dust of a thousand years, a half-length of Christ with the signs of the Evangelists. These are succeeded by the twelve sheep, which are advancing up both sides of the arch of the tribune; two palm-trees are placed lower down. Neither animals nor trees are superior to those within the tribune. On the other hand, in the figures of the archangels Michael and Gabriel, which are introduced lower down at the side of the tribune, we find traces of a good antique taste. Each is holding in his right hand the flag of victory (the *Labarum*), while the left so grasps the crimson mantle, which is faced with embroidered cloth of gold, that a part of the white tunic is visible. The heads are of youthful beauty.

In respect, however, both of building and painting, Ravenna,

of the suburb Classis, &c.), to say nothing of those in Byzantium itself, to justify us, without the strongest external proofs, in pointing out decided originals in those which still exist.

* The difficult question as to which of the emperors is meant by this name is not ours to solve. In all probability the three figures are intended for Constantine Pogonatus, Tiberius II., and the well-known Emperor Heraclius.

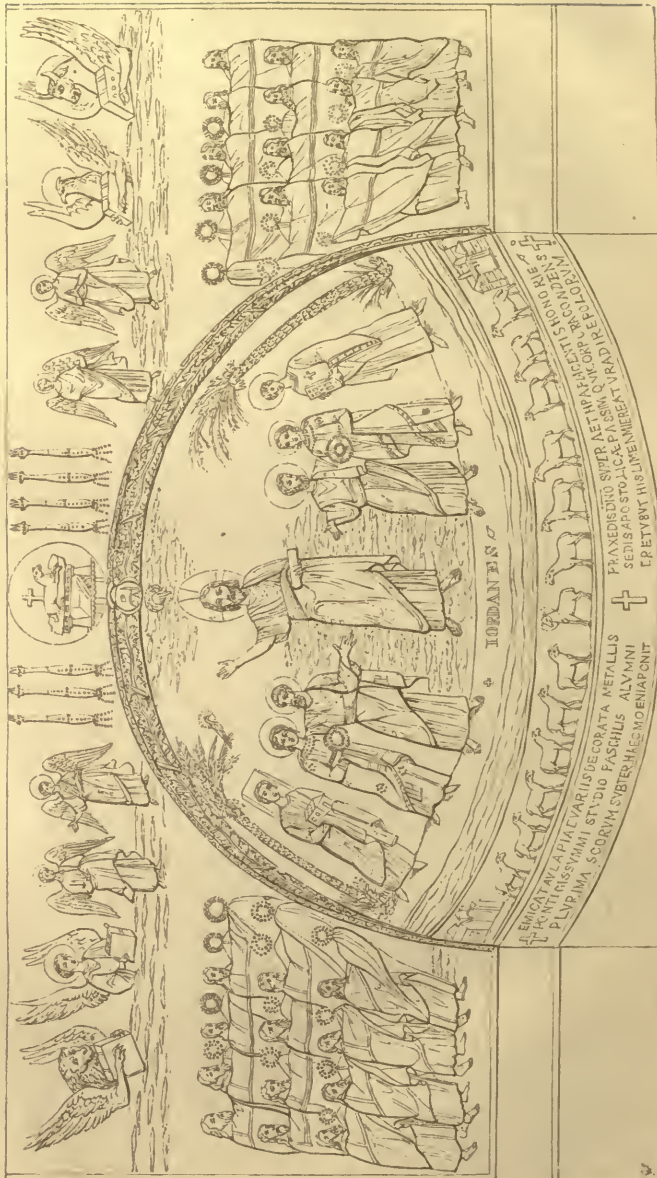
after the fall of the Ostrogoths, had greatly declined. A provincial city of the Eastern Empire had, under any circumstances, no very brilliant history in those times. In addition to this, the perpetual attacks of the Longobards had robbed the Exarchate of successive portions of territory, till in the year 782 the splendid suburb Classis was conquered and laid waste. Earthquakes also did their part to destroy what other evils spared, and, at the present day, with the exception of the fine and solitary Apollinaris church, on the border of the celebrated pine wood, every trace of Classis has disappeared. Finally, after the Franks had snatched the Exarchate from the hand of the Longobards and made it over to the papal chair, art, in Ravenna, confined itself to a few solitary decorations and to repairs, and to this latter circumstance solely is this little out-of-the-way papal country town indebted for the preservation of some early middle-age treasures of art such as the whole world cannot furnish elsewhere.

How far the wars and disastrous events of the eighth century had any influence upon art at Rome, it is difficult to decide, since, of the numerous treasures that are recorded by different writers, scarcely anything has survived. The only specimen is a little fragment belonging to the old church of St. Peter, A.D. 705, now in the sacristy of S. Maria in Cosmedin—an Adoration of the three Kings—which, though of a barbaric negligence in execution, displays a good antique feeling for composition. The figures which have been preserved, Joseph, the Virgin and Child, and an angel, form an easy group. As regards Pope Constantine (A.D. 708-715), we are informed by Paulus Diaconus (vi. 34) that he caused the six orthodox councils to be painted in the vestibule of St. Peter's (whether in mosaic is not said), and, further, that this was done out of spite against the monothelite Emperor Philipicus Bardanes, who had caused a similar row of council pictures to be destroyed in Constantinople. Also in the pontificates of Gregory III., Zacharias, and Adrain I., the mosaic decorations of many churches were devised. In the struggle with the Iconoclasts, Rome had zealously espoused the picture cause. "The sacred pictures"—thus wrote Gregory II. to the Emperor Leo at the commencement of the dispute—"elevate

the feelings of men. Fathers and mothers lift up their children to view them. Youths and foreigners point with edification to the painted histories. All hearts raise themselves to God." And when, in Byzantium, ecclesiastical art was attacked by the sword, the monasteries of Rome granted an asylum to whole bands of Byzantine painters. Nevertheless, scarcely any influence from this circumstance is to be perceived—we find, as already said, in the still existing Roman mosaics, an interval of almost a century, and resume them only after the pacification of the country under Pope Leo III. (A.D. 795–816). This pontificate, so important also in other respects, is distinguished by numerous church repairs and new erections, on which occasion the application of mosaics is frequently mentioned.

Unfortunately the apsis mosaic of the Leonine Triclinium in the Lateran, so important as being the last relic of the great historical subjects in this building, has suffered so severely in the attempt made in the last century to transfer it to the outer walls of the chapel of the *Sancta Sanctorum*, that we must content ourselves with a copy in mosaic, which, with the exception of a few somewhat modernized heads, almost replaces the ancient original. Within the tribune, upon a gold ground, stands the Saviour in act of benediction, the eleven apostles in white robes around Him; the four rivers of Paradise gushing forth at His feet. The figures, in their stiff, yet infirm attitudes, and still more in the unmeaning disposition of the drapery, display a decided Byzantine influence. Here we first perceive a totally conventional distribution of the masses of the drapery, which, though loaded with meaningless folds (namely with bluish strokes of colour), only adheres to the shape of the figure. On the walls next the tribune we find those celebrated pictures of deep political and ecclesiastical significance, which are of immeasurably higher historical value than the ceremonial pictures of the Imperial Palace at Constantinople. On the left appears the Saviour enthroned, with the kneeling figure of St. Sylvester before Him, to whom He is giving the keys, while He extends a banner to Constantine the Great. On the right is St. Peter, enthroned, in the act of bestowing the stola upon Pope Leo III. and a banner upon Charlemagne, in sign of investiture. In both the last-named kneeling figures

who are represented in profile, a species of likeness is aimed at, only that Charlemagne has been caricatured in the attempt. Of the same period is the altar apsis in the church of SS. Nereo e Achilleo, underneath the baths of Caracalla. The figures are small, and have been greatly restored, but are still remarkable in intention. In all mosaics of later date than those containing the history of Christ upon the arch of Triumph in S. Maria Maggiore, we have observed that same arch decorated, almost without exception, with apocalyptic subjects, and with the symbols of the Evangelists. Here, however, the decoration of this portion is again of an historical nature. The transfigured Saviour is in the centre between Moses and Elijah, with SS. Nereo and Achilleo kneeling on either side; further on the left the Annunciation, and on the right the Virgin and Child, accompanied by an angel. The pontificate of Paschal I., which succeeded that of Leo III. (A.D. 817-824), though short in time, was rich in mosaic works, owing doubtless to the free exercise of art which the maintenance of peace permitted. For any positive advance these were not the times; and equally as we trace in the apparently flourishing school of Carlovingian art only the tardy echo of the antique, so do we perceive in the Roman works of this period only a deeper decline into Byzantine deformity. Whether there then existed in Rome a branch school of mosaic-workers from Constantinople, and how far this was again acted upon from the parent nursery, we do not presume to decide. The most splendid and extensive works of that pontificate were doubtless the mosaics in S. Prassede on the Esquiline Hill. At all events, more have been preserved in this church than in any other; viz., those on the arch of Triumph, on the arch of the tribune, within the tribune itself, and the entire decorations of the chapel of one side aisle. The subjects on the arches are, as usual, taken from the Apocalypse. Over the arch of Triumph, in the centre of a walled space, with gates representing the heavenly Jerusalem, is the Saviour between two angels, holding a globe in His hand, while on each side of Him are a row of saints offering Him their triumphal crowns. Four angels are standing at the gates, inviting the concourse to enter, who are represented



advancing in solemn procession below, clad in white robes, and with palm-branches in their hands. Upon the arch of the tribune is the customary representation of the Lamb upon a seat decorated with jewels, surrounded with the seven candlesticks, four angels, and the symbols of the Evangelists. On each side of the arch are the four-and-twenty elders, advancing to cast their crowns before the Lamb. In the semi-dome (copied from SS. Cosmo e Damiano) Christ occupies the centre—above Him the hand of the Father holding a wreath—on either side St. Peter and St. Paul, SS. Praxedis and Pudentiana, S. Zeno, and Pope Paschal, the founder, with a square* nimbus carrying the model of a church; last of all two palm-trees, one of them with the same phoenix as in the church of SS. Cosmo e Damiano. Further below, the thirteen lambs as usual. (See woodcut.) The church not being large for such an amount of subjects, the figures are on a small scale, and, owing to the increasing rudeness of execution, have a somewhat barbaric effect. The folds of the draperies are only dark strokes—the faces consist chiefly of three coarse lines.† Altogether we perceive that the Byzantine art of that time relied upon the multitude of its figures for effect, and more and more avoided those single colossal forms which it was neither able to animate with feeling, nor to fill up with truth of detail. Not that anything was gained by the multiplicity of these small stiff parallel-placed figures; on the contrary, they give us only the impression of disjointed atoms. As for the contemporary mosaics in the side chapel, they may be considered as completely barbaric, though, from their splendour, they originally obtained the name of the “Garden of Paradise.” The door is enframed in a double row of medallion-portraits in mosaics, which are merely rude caricatures. Within, the walls are covered with saints and various symbols, without any connection as regards their scheme. The only remarkable portion is the Lamb

* The square nimbus is conjectured to represent one living at the time.

† See Rumohr's ‘*Ital. Forschungen*,’ vol. i. p. 239, where the style of these Roman mosaics of the ninth century is for the first time investigated with some precision. See also *idem*, p. 246, vol. ii., and Preface, p. viii.

with four stags, with four half-length figures below to correspond. Upon the groined roof is a half-length figure of Christ, borne by four angels, who in the poverty of the artist's invention, are divided in two by the groining of the arches. Of the same period are the mosaics of the Church of S. Cecilia in Trastevere, which, in rudeness and multiplicity of figures, correspond pretty much with those we have just described. Within the tribune is seen the Saviour again, with five saints, Pope Paschal, and the two palm-trees; this time upon a blue ground with small clouds. The thirteen lambs which, usually in the form of a frieze decoration, connect the semicircular lower wall of the tribune with the semidome above in an agreeable manner, are all included on the dome itself, forming a border in no very good taste. On the walls of the tribune, till a recent date, might be seen the Virgin and Child enthroned between two angels and eleven martyrs who are advancing from the two cities of Bethlehem and Jerusalem; and, further below, the four-and-twenty elders in their accustomed attitudes. But the entablature of the vestibule has still its old decoration of beautiful gold ornaments on a blue ground and blue ornaments upon a gold ground, alternately intersected with small portrait medallions—showing that the decorative parts of an art long survive the decline of all the rest. Similar in style to the mosaics in S. Cecilia are those in and above the tribune of S. Maria della Navicella (also called *in Dominica*) upon the Coelian Hill. Within the tribune appear the Virgin and Child seated on a throne with angels ranged in regular rows on each side; and, at her feet, with unspeakable stiffness of limb, the kneeling figure of Pope Paschal I. Upon the walls of the tribune is the Saviour in a nimbus, with two angels and the twelve apostles on either hand, and further below, on a much larger scale, two prophets, who appear to point towards Him. The most remarkable thing here is the rich foliage decoration. Besides the wreaths of flowers (otherwise not a rare feature) which are growing out of two vessels at the edge of the dome, the floor beneath the figures is also decorated with flowers—a graceful species of ornament seldom aimed at in

the moroseness of Byzantine art. From this point the decline into utter barbarism is rapid. The mosaics of S. Marco at Rome, executed under Pope Gregory IV. (A. D. 827-844), with all their splendour, exhibit the utmost poverty of expression. Above the tribune, in circular compartments, is the portrait of Christ between the symbols of the Evangelists, and further below, St. Peter and St. Paul (or two prophets) with scrolls. Within the tribune, beneath a hand extended with a wreath, is the standing figure of Christ with an open book, and, on either side, five angels and Pope Gregory IV. Further on, but still belonging to the dome, are the thirteen lambs, forming a second and quite uneven circle round the figures. The execution is here especially rude, and of true Byzantine rigidity, while, as if the artist knew that his long lean figures were anything but secure upon their feet, he has given them each a separate little pedestal. The lines of the drapery are chiefly straight and parallel, while, with all this rudeness, a certain play of colour has been contrived by the introduction of high lights of another colour.*

The greatly restored tribune mosaics of S. Francesca Romana (probably A. D. 858-867, the pontificate of Nicholas I.) close the group of these Roman-Byzantine works. By this time it had become apparent that such figures as the art of that day was alone able to achieve could have no possible relation to each other, and therefore no longer constitute a composition; the artist accordingly separated the Madonna on the throne and the four saints with uplifted hands, by graceful arcades. The ground, as in most foregoing mosaics, is gold; the glories blue. The faces of course consist only of feeble lines—the cheeks are only red blotches; the folds merely dark strokes; nevertheless, a certain flow and fulness in the forms, and a few accessories (for instance, the exchange of a crown upon the Virgin's head for the invariable Byzantine veil), seem to indicate that we have not so much to do here with the decline of Byzantine art as with a Northern, and probably Frankish, influence. At the same

* According to Eméric David, page 76, there still exist in the chapel of the Sancta Sanctorum, near the Lateran, mosaics of the time of Sergius II. (A. D. 844-847). These, however, were inaccessible to us.

time, if we compare together all authentic works of the time, we cannot assign this mosaic to the thirteenth century. Of the later works of the ninth century nothing more exists at Rome. Those which Pope Formosus contributed to the old church of St. Peter (A. D. 891–896) shared the destruction of that basilica. In Aquileja, according to all accounts, there still exist the mosaics which Gisela, the daughter of Louis the Pious, presented to the church. They contain (what is most remarkable for that time) a crucifixion, the Virgin, St. George, the portrait of Gisela, and various allegorical figures. The Cathedral of Capua also possesses mosaics of that period, presented by Bishop Hugo. On the other hand, “the very beautiful figures” with which the Abbots Potto and Gisulf embellished the entire walls of the church of Monte Casino have disappeared.

After the close of the ninth century mosaic art seems to have almost ceased in Italy. For seventy years that unhappy country had been distracted by ceaseless broils, in many instances scarcely less detrimental to its well-being than the inroads of the northern tribes. Rome especially was the sport of the most terrible factions. Peace was restored by force of arms under the Othos; but the deep wounds which all intellectual and artistic enterprise had sustained did not readily heal again. Wherever, after this, art endeavoured to raise her head, the help of Byzantium was called into requisition. For example, when Abbot Desiderius of Monte Casino (afterwards Pope Victor III.) rebuilt the church of his monastery, he was compelled to hire mosaic-workers from Constantinople, who instructed several pupils in the art.*

Meanwhile the republic of Venice, which had grown up under the nominal protection of Byzantium, had, in the general distraction of the country, remained undisturbed. This state became the thriving mart for the empires of the

* We may here mention in addition those mosaics of the choir apsis of St. Ambrose at Milan (Christ between two archangels with SS. Gervasius and Protasius), recently restored, which are supposed to have been executed A.D. 832, by a monk of the name of Gaudentius. The execution seems more careful, and the figures more animated, than in the mosaics of a similar period in Rome.

East and West; and even after all political connection with Byzantium had ceased, the active commerce which was maintained became a constant bond of union. In point of art, however, Venice, up to the thirteenth century, may be considered almost exclusively a Byzantine colony, inasmuch as her painters adhered entirely to Greek models: her architecture partook equally of Oriental and Occidental elements, and only her sculpture retained a positive Western character, because this alone, in the condemnation which Byzantium had passed on all the higher plastic forms of art, could derive no assistance from that city. The Venetian mosaics especially we may regard as an almost sufficient indemnification for those of the Eastern Empire which have been lost to posterity, since the characters of undisturbed Byzantine descent are much more legible there than, for instance, in those Roman works just described. The earliest existing specimens of this kind are the mosaics in the church of St. Cyprian in the island of Murano, which were completed in the year 882, representing a Christ with the Virgin between archangels. With incomparably more force, however, is the Byzantine type represented in the church of St. Mark, founded A.D. 976, the earliest wall and cupola pictures of which go back at least to the eleventh, and perhaps even to the tenth century. After the transfer of the body of St. Mark the Evangelist from Alexandria to Venice, the inhabitants of these isles adopted the lion for their symbol, and regarded the sacred remains as the pledge of their prosperity. It behoved them, therefore, to decorate the church honoured as the resting-place of the saint with all the splendour which the wealth of a thriving commercial city could bestow. The gorgeous luxury of the mere materials of the edifice, to supply which the whole empire of the East was ransacked, is well known. The floor, the walls, and the pillars, half way up, were covered with the most costly marbles, while the rest of the interior—upper walls, waggon roofs, and cupolas—comprising a surface of more than forty thousand square feet—was covered with mosaics on a gold ground; a gigantic work, which even all the wealth of Venice spent six centuries in patching together.

Every style of art, therefore, which necessarily flourished during this period, down to the lowest mannerism of the school of *Tintoretto*, has been perpetuated in this edifice. The general coup d'œil is somewhat dim and heavy. We are reminded that it was the devotion of seafaring men that raised the pile; men who were willing to propitiate the favour of Heaven by the richest offerings they could devise, and indifferent, in their short intervals of rest, to the higher beauties of art, provided the utmost pomp and splendour were but attained. As respects our own researches, however, it is certain that here alone do we obtain any idea of the wealth of mosaics which existed in the State buildings of ancient Constantinople.

In these mosaics of St. Mark it would be difficult to recognise any consistent or sustained idea. And even if any originally existed, the artists of the different epochs, especially since the time of *Titian*, have not adhered to it. The earliest portions also, connected as certain groups and masses may appear, show no traces of any plan. In the five large semi-circular recesses of the front, appears, by way as it were of introduction, the history of the translation of the sacred remains; and in the semicircular terminations of the upper walls, the history of Christ; which subjects, though of modern execution, have taken the place of older works. The atrium, which surrounds the edifice on three sides, contains, as we often observe in the porches of Gothic churches, the history of the old covenant from the Creation to the time of Moses (excellent works, which we shall consider further); and then in a portion of the atrium which has been converted into a chapel and baptistery, the history of St. Mark, and a multitude of curious symbolical subjects, referring to the mystery of baptism. The interior of the edifice forms, as is well known, the figure of a cross, with five cupolas, each of which rests on four wide massive arches; every two of them constituting a sort of side aisle. Rows of pillars, with false galleries half way up the church, divide these from the principal cruciform space. The descriptive plan on page 72, which, in the multiplicity of forms, can only embrace the principal features, will

suffice to show how little the opportunity of following up the artistic development of a theological design was taken advantage of.

Any sequence of ideas in these representations can only be suggested by the spectator himself. In commencing with Paradise, the Apocalypse, and the Feast of Pentecost, and terminating with the Holy of Holies, Christ and the Prophets, an exception was made, not only to the then generally accepted order of ecclesiastical decoration, but to all the more important examples of this kind of later mediæval times. It is only in the history of Christ that we find some consistency, though accompanied with numerous repetitions, and executed without any strict reference to the principal events. In the innumerable single figures of saints we see the commencement of that remarkable order of precedence which later Byzantine art assigned to them—holy deacons, hermits, and column saints of all kinds being placed here according to their rank. After all, the highest value of these works is of an archæo-liturgical description. Here we find, for example, the Ascension, with the Saviour represented mounting above the riven gates of Hades, with the banner of victory in one hand, and drawing Adam upwards with the other. Here alone do we see the guests of the Feast of Pentecost, each two and two, in their respective costumes—the Jews in pointed hats; the Parthians with bow and arrow; the Arabians almost naked; and so on. Here are the Christian virtues, the acts and martyrdoms of the apostles, given with a completeness scarcely found elsewhere; for all the innumerable amount of frescoes belonging to Northern churches, which may have exhibited the same subjects (and those in a much finer form), have vanished, or left only the scantiest relics behind. On the other hand, in point of artistic worth, the earlier mosaics of St. Mark's (included principally in the front, centre, and left cupola, and the contiguous waggon roofs) are such as to require only a brief notice. If, in the Roman mosaics of the time of Pope Paschal I., some trace of freedom and life was still discernible, here, on the contrary, we perceive in all those subjects which are not the obvious copies of older works (as, for

<p>W.R. Miracles of Christ. W. Genealogy of Christ. Beneath this the Chapel of S Isidore, with his acts.</p>	<p>W.R.* Scenes from the Acts of the Apostles, Saints, &c.</p>	<p><i>In the Tribune.</i> A colossal Christ, with four Saints below.</p>		<p>W.R. Scenes from the Acts of the Apostles; Saints, and the Sacrifices of Cain and Abel.</p>
	<p><i>Eastern Cupola.</i> Christ, the Virgin, Solomon, and eleven Prophets. In the Pendentives the symbols of the Evangelists.</p>			
<p>W.R. and W.† Miracles and Acts of Christ ending with the Last Supper.</p>	<p><i>Intervening space.</i> Angels and Saints.</p>	<p>W.R. History of Christ to the Transfiguration.</p>	<p><i>Intervening space.</i> Ornaments and Saints.</p>	<p>W.R. Miracles of Christ. W. Miracles of a Saint.</p>
<p>W.R. Miracles of Christ. W. Genealogy of Christ. Beneath this the Chapel of S Isidore, with his acts.</p>	<p><i>Left Cupola.</i> A Cross, surrounded with the Miracles of the Apostles. Pendentives, the four Doctors of the Church.</p>	<p><i>Centre Cupola.</i> Christ with four Archangels, the Madonna and the Apostles around, then the Christian Virtues. In the Pendentives the Evangelists and the Rivers of Paradise.</p>	<p>W.R. Temptation of Christ, Entry into Jerusalem, Last Supper, and Washing the Feet of His Disciples.</p>	<p>W.R. Miracles of Christ. W. Miracles of a Saint.</p>
	<p>W.R. Miracles of Christ and Last Supper.</p>			
<p>W.R. Life of the Virgin. W. History of the Youth of Christ, and histories of Daniel and Sussanna.</p>	<p><i>Intervening space.</i> The Evangelists and Saints.</p>	<p>W.R. The scenes of the Passion, to the Resurrection.</p>	<p><i>Intervening space.</i> Christ, the Virgin, and Saints.</p>	<p>W.R. Biblical scenes. W. Translation of the body of St. Mark.</p>
<p>W.R. and W. Acts and Martyrdoms of the Apostles.</p>	<p><i>Intervening space.</i> The Revelations and Saints.</p>	<p><i>Western Cupola.</i> Descent of the Holy Ghost, with the Stranger Nations around. In the Pendentives the Archangels.</p>	<p>W.R. and W. Acts and Martyrdoms of the Apostles, Christ on the Mount of Olives.</p>	<p>W.R. and W. Acts and Martyrdoms of the Apostles, Christ on the Mount of Olives.</p>
		<p>W.R. Scenes from the Revelations.</p>		
		<p><i>Great Front.</i> Waggon Roof. Paradise.</p>		

* W.R. Waggon Roof.

† W. Walls.

instance, that very Ascension) an utter extinction of all freedom of form. The figures are, throughout, lifeless shadows, looking as if they would fall asunder with the slightest movement. Every step—the merest stretching forth of a hand—threatens to upset them, while by the omission of the ground under their feet, the last remnant of stability seems removed. Of the grand and solemn types of mosaic art of the fifth and sixth century, only the meagre and contracted outlines are left. Christ Himself, a symbol, as it were, of the decrepit theology of Byzantium, appears here in likeness of an old man, with white hair and beard. On the other hand, the execution is delicate and careful, at least in those portions which are near the eye. The vitrified cubes are small and well fitted, and delicate hatchings of gold and other light colours gleam among the stiffness of the drapery.

Another group of Occidental-Byzantine mosaics exists in Lower Italy and Sicily, of the time of the Normans. Of the three races which contended in the eleventh century for the possession of this territory—the Greeks, the Saracens, and the Normans—the first alone possessed a developed school of painting, which the Normans, as conquerors, adopted from them; though in the arts of architecture and sculpture they pursued their own course. Even in the earliest Norman specimen that has been preserved, namely, the Cathedral of Salerno, founded by Robert Guiscard, A.D. 1080, this state of things is illustrated in the most remarkable way. The building is of the Norman style of architecture, mingled (as far as it is not constructed of ancient materials stolen from Pæstum) with evidences of a Saracenic influence. The more important sculptures are, it is true, not of a very animated character, but round and soft, in the style of the Western School. Indeed, only the mosaics (an altar apsis on the right, and a door lunette) and the brazen central gate—the flat silver inlaid figures of which belong to the department of drawing, and not to that of sculpture—are, in spite of the Latin inscriptions, essentially Byzantine. The mosaics on the altar apsis represent St. Mark seated with the book of the Gospels upon the throne; next to him the standing figures of four saints; above, a winged Christ, in crimson

robe, with long sceptre and globe; all in the same stiff but neat style as in the earliest Venetian mosaics. The same may be said of the half-length figure of St. Matthew in the door lunette. The most splendid specimens, however, of this Norman-Byzantine art are the mosaics in the Cathedral of Monreale, near Palermo (after the year 1174), where the centre apsis contains an unusually colossal half-length figure of Christ—the space around it a crowd of saints—the arms of the transept the histories of St. Peter and St. Paul—and finally, the nave, a long row of Biblical events. As this edifice was very rapidly completed, more than a hundred artists were required for the execution of these mosaics, a number which, without the existence of an old and long-established school in Sicily, could hardly have been supplied. Of somewhat earlier date is the no less splendid decoration of the walls of the chapel of King Roger in Palermo (after 1140), and the mosaics of several other churches; S. Maria dell' Ammiraglio; the Cathedral of Cefalu (the last especially remarkable), and many others. The hunting-room of King Roger I. in Palermo (about 1100), with the somewhat heraldic-shaped animals and ornaments upon a gold ground, reminds us of the probably similar decorations of the Hall of State, called the Margarita, erected in Constantinople A.D. 829-842, by the Emperor Theophilus, which, with the other numerous palaces of this potentate, have disappeared.* As far as we can judge from illustrations and descriptions, the same barren, withered style which we find in the earlier pictures of St. Mark, is throughout observable in these Sicilian works.

In treating of the miniatures of the Byzantine school, we may safely curtail our remarks, since a number of excellent descriptions and satisfactory illustrations already exist,† to which it will be easy to refer our readers: also, more especially, because the best miniatures of the Byzantine

* The illustrations of all these mosaics, by Serradifalco (del Duomo di Monreale, &c.), appear, without exception, to be coloured in a modern style. In Hittorf and Zanth's *Architecture Moderne de la Sicile*, only the last page gives us a true idea of the style, and that only in a few examples.

† See principally Waagen's 'Kunstwerke und Künstler in Paris,' p. 201, and the illustrations in D'Agincourt's 'Histoire de l'Art,' many of which are taken from tracings.

time do not actually belong to the Byzantine school, but are copies of earlier Roman works, and as such have been in some measure already described. Thus, for instance, the most celebrated *Codices* of the time of the Macedonian Emperors, now in the Royal Library at Paris, are copies and facsimiles of the best Romano-Christian works. The finest and most important miniatures, forty-seven in number, are contained in a codex of sermons by St. Gregory Nazianzen. Here we find the martyrs, the monarchs, and other distinguished personages of a late period, represented in the style of the ninth century; while the other subjects—repetitions of the charming compositions of the fifth and sixth centuries—represent the principal events from the creation of the world to the time of St. Gregory. More interesting still, from its numerous personifications of natural imagery and abstract qualities, in the manner of the antique, is a Psalter of the tenth century,* of which it may be truly said that “in no other Greek manuscript has the ancient mode of conception been so purely preserved.”† Here may be seen, under the form of a sublime-looking female, “Melody” leaning on the shoulder of the youthful and beautiful David. On one side lies the “Mountain,” an allegorical male figure crowned with a wreath, and with a green robe. Farther on is David killing a lion, while “Strength,” a youthful female figure, is inciting him to deeds of valour. Again, at the scene of his anointing, “Clemency” is hovering over him. At his encounter with Goliath, “Vainglory” is seen fleeing behind the giant, while “Strength” is stationed behind David. When portrayed as a monarch, “Wisdom” and “Prophecy” encompass him; when as a penitent sinner, “Repentance” is above him. In similar manner, under the symbols of antiquely-conceived

* See illustrations in ‘History of Our Lord in Art,’ pp. 203–205.

† Waagen, from whom we borrow these words, does not strictly declare these miniatures to be copies of older works, but admits that “in motives, forms, costume, and arrangement of drapery, they have quite an antique look;” and remarks further, “that the mode of laying on the colours, although broad and full, in the antique style, yet is by no means to be compared to the feeling for composition displayed in these works.” He allows also that the beautiful composition of the Isaiah must have had “a very early original.”

male and female figures, are represented—"Night," "The Desert," "The Bottomless Pit," "The Red Sea," "Mount Sinai," &c., being a semi-heathenish worship of nature and of abstract ideas, of which the tenth century of itself was totally incapable. On the same principle we might attribute a much earlier original still to the rudely executed, but powerfully conceived miniatures of "The Christian Topography" of the *Cosmas* (now in the Vatican), belonging to the ninth century, where the River Jordan appears as a male figure with an urn, were we not corrected in our supposition by the figure of a female with succinct drapery and flying veil, which represents "Dancing." On the other hand, the so-called Vatican Menologium,* with its 430 splendid miniatures on a gold ground (executed for the Emperor Basil, the conqueror of the Bulgarians, A.D. 989-1025), is essentially a work of that period, and decidedly one of the best known. Eight artists, whose name recur from time to time, decorated the separate days of this most costly of all calendars (extending, however, only to the half of the year) with scenes, from the life of Christ, the saints, and the history of the Church—the latter in the form of Synods.† In the Biblical scenes, traces of earlier motives occur,‡ but the martyrdoms of the Saints are really the compositions of the tenth century; and, horrible as many of them are, they do that century great credit: for though, in the single figures, we discern a great want of life, yet the composition is upon the whole well understood, and here and there very animated. The saints are here seen suffering martyrdom in various ways;—dragged to death by horses, burnt in the red-hot effigy of a bull, crucified, drowned, scourged to death, torn by wild beasts in the amphitheatre, suspended by the feet, and so on; by which a tolerably correct understanding of action is shown, though all idea of anatomy is lost. Drapery and

* See 'Menologium Græcum,' 3 vols.

† The tracings from the above in D'Agincourt's 'Histoire de l'Art' are somewhat modernised in detail, and not quite trustworthy.

‡ It is remarkable that single subjects from the Menologium are repeated in the mosaics of the cathedral of Monreale—probably because this work contained old compositions which had become common property in Byzantine art.

heads are throughout stiff and conventional, the nude is somewhat meagre, and moreover disfigured by an ugly brick-red colour—the result perhaps of an improper vehicle, which has also lowered the colours. Far inferior to these are the miniatures of the *Dogmatica Panoplia*, in the Vatican, executed for Alexis Comnenus (A.D. 1081–1118), which are only remarkable for stiff, gold embroidered garments, and weak, decrepit heads. On the other hand, a collection of sermons for the Feast of the Virgin (in the Vatican,) belonging to the twelfth century, in which the initials consist chiefly of the figures of animals, contains excellent compositions, not only of an early character, but also of the character belonging to that century, and is remarkable for great beauty of decorative ornament. Another important manuscript of the time of the Comneni—the *Klimax* of Johannes Klimakus (in the Vatican), exhibits in small, highly delicate, and clearly drawn compositions on a gold ground, the well-known allegory of the Virtues as the steps leading to Heaven, and of the Vices as those which lead to Hell. It is interesting here to observe the new treatment of the frequently recurring personifications of these abstract subjects, which were formerly characterised by form and attribute, and generally represented looking on in silent dignity, while here they appear only as small male and female figures, explained by marginal inscriptions—the bad qualities, however, being represented as negroes. The actions are mostly expressed in a very awkward manner, according to some prescribed system.

With the thirteenth century an irretrievable decline in technical power and invention ensued. The already elongated forms became more attenuated, the drawing utterly feeble, the colours gay and gaudy, and the whole execution one mere painted scrawl. The symbols of abstract objects—the last relics of antique art—appear seldom; and when they do, are clad, not in the old ideal costume but in the fashion of the period. Justice and Mercy, for instance, are seen in the gorgeous apparel of the imperial daughters of Byzantium, while portraits of the time of the Palæologi consist of meagre heads, and of a mass of ornament intended to represent a robe.

Of the panel pictures of the Byzantine school much the same

may be said as of the miniatures, only that positive dates are here wanting; while, from the stationary monotony of art and its types for so many centuries, no conclusion as to time can be obtained. It is true that, previous to the controversy concerning images, countless pictures of this kind had been executed for the purposes of private devotion—chiefly in the monasteries—but it must be remembered that, in spite of the solid nature of the ground or preparation, the wood itself would have decayed in the lapse of a thousand years. The innumerable Byzantine pictures of Christ, the Virgin, and the Saints, now found in Italy,* are almost entirely the manufacture of the later periods of Eastern art, and many are still more recent.

Another especial department of Byzantine workmanship consists in those gorgeous enamels upon gold, the style of which is of course intimately allied with that of the foregoing pictures. The Republic of Venice, for instance, ordered for St. Mark's the most costly altar-piece that Constantinople could furnish, and which is still preserved in that church. It consists of a number of delicate gold plates, upon which Christ and the Saints, with Biblical scenes, and the Life of St. Mark, are represented in an enamel of the richest and deepest colours. There being no knowledge (which is perceptible in all enamels of mediæval times) of gradation of tints, the lights and shadows are expressed by gold hatchings (whether scratched out or laid on, we know not), which it requires a microscopic eye to trace. The style, though contemporary with the Vatican Menologium, and of the highest delicacy of execution, appears to be somewhat stiffer. The present decorative framework, perhaps even the order of the subjects, belongs to the later Middle Ages. In the treasury of St. Mark's, also, there are golden reliquaries of a similar workmanship, some of them, perhaps, the fruits of

* A very instructive collection of such pictures, as well as many of an old Italian kind, have been hung up by the keeper of the Vatican, Monsig^o Laureani, in the spaces of the Museo Cristiano. The most important is a Byzantine picture of the ninth century, brought into Italy by means of the painter Squarcione. It represents the death of St. Ephraim, with monks and suffering poor around. In the background are various scenes from the life of that anchorite, not without some expression of individual variety. The artist's name was Emanuel Tzanfurnari.

the pillage of Constantinople (A.D. 1204), of which scarcely anything else is extant. When Art is identified with materials so tempting to the spoiler, she must renounce all hope of descending to posterity.

As specimens of the State embroideries for which Byzantium was especially celebrated, we may mention, as still existing, the so-called Dalmatic of Charlemagne,* in the sacristy of St. Peter's at Rome, on which, embroidered in gold and silver, with a few colours on a deep blue silk, are contained the Transfiguration behind, Christ in Glory in front, saints and angels all round, and, upon the sleeves, the Saviour as dispenser of the Sacraments. The very inanimate style, and especially the length of the proportions, point, it is true, not to the style of Charlemagne, but rather to the twelfth century. There is no doubt, however, that later emperors, at least on occasion of their assisting at the consecration of the Pope in the character of Deacons, have worn this robe. Ornament and arrangement are admirable, considering the space allotted, and the execution is of the utmost and truest Byzantine delicacy. But as the Greek service admits of no dalmatic, it is to be supposed that the robe was ordered by Rome from Constantinople.†

Finally, we may mention those metallic plates, inlaid with silver, with which the wooden doors of churches were covered, and which, after the tenth century, were not seldom manufactured, partly as commissions from the

* See engraving, 'Annales Archæologiques,' vol. i.

† See an elaborate treatment of this subject, with illustrations, by S. Boissérée, in the Correspondence of the Munich Academy, 1844. A mantle of Henry II., reported to be in the Bamberg Sacristy, is supposed to be of the same style. The Emperor received this mantle from Melus, Duke of Apulia. Fiorillo, in his 'Geschichte der bildenden Künste in Deutschland,' assigns this work to an Apulian nun of the order of St. Basil, which makes it Byzantine to all intents and purposes. "The composer or designer of the figures has mingled up things worldly and spiritual,—things astronomical, astrological, and apocalyptical, and has even explained the constellations." (See the above-mentioned work.) Those gorgeous tapestries which are seen as much in Eastern as in Italian churches and palaces, suspended from pillar to pillar, seem to be only decorated with ornaments and flowers—not with figures, or we might expect more particular notices of them. The mosaic pictures also of the Royal Palace at Ravenna (in S. Apollinare Nuovo) are an argument against the existence of figures in such tapestries. Figures were probably first introduced in them in Northern art, though not utterly foreign to the South.

East, and partly as articles of commerce for Italy; for the North, which at that time possessed a highly developed school of bronze casting, had no demand for them. The chef-d'œuvre of this kind, namely, the brazen doors of S. Paolo fuori le mura at Rome, which were executed in Constantinople in 1070, have perished in our time. They consisted of fifty-four (9×6) bronze tablets, inlaid with silver wire, representing the Prophets, the Life of Christ, and the Apostles, with the martyrdoms of the latter. But this description of workmanship, called *Agemina*, was unfortunately chosen, for the pale silver threads upon the shining brass only permitted of very indistinct outlines, and were incapable of any shadowing. It is only in quiet separate figures, architecturally divided, that any effect can be thus produced; while in a composition of many figures, a mode of drawing which is restricted to so few lines has but a paltry and barbaric appearance. This is more especially the case in forms of Byzantine origin, with the meagre figures of the saints (sometimes thirteen heads long), to whom the slightest action seems impossible. Other doors of this kind, for example, those of the cathedral of Amalfi (A.D. 1062), of the cathedral of Salerno (about the year 1080), &c., contain this species of workmanship only in the centre panels, while the rest of the door is merely decorated with crosses and vases, &c., rudely riveted or soldered on to the surface. It is obvious, in such cases, that a few of these costly Byzantine tablets having been supplied, the rest was executed by native workmen. The entire inner door of St. Mark's at Venice was however, cast in Venice itself, and finished up with single figures in precisely the same style as those from Byzantium. The others are purely Byzantine; the most delicate among them being the right door, which is supposed to have adorned S. Sophia at Constantinople. Here the outlines of the figures, standing under graceful horseshoe arches, are not only more delicately executed, but the architectural framework, which, in this instance was not supplied at home, but is also of Byzantine workmanship, is equally inlaid with silver. We need hardly add, that from those portions of the doors within the reach of a thieving hand, every morsel of

silver wire, and of those small silver pieces which were applied to express the face and extremities, has been picked away; thereby giving the finishing stroke to the ghostly appearance of the utterly lifeless figures.

Thus, by the most rigid adherence to a flatness of representation, Byzantine art avoided the slightest approach to the forbidden plastic form, however imperatively the metallic material to which it was applied might seem to require it. Those altar-pieces and brazen doors which, in the North, were worked in the most masterly relief, were here covered with a costly and laboured enamel and silver *niello*. We need not wonder, therefore, that the few very flat reliefs which this school sometimes ventured to undertake, should be, in point of fact, nothing more than pictures transferred to marble, assimilating in no way to the intention of plastic art. In this respect the Church of St. Mark supplies the most remarkable evidence, if we compare its Byzantine sculptures with those of a Western origin, of a contemporary or even earlier date. We trace the result of these circumstances for a long time afterwards in Venice, where, even in the best period of sculpture, it appears more dependent upon painting than anywhere else; so that, in more than one instance which we could cite, works in relief of the Lombard school have, at first sight, struck us to have had paintings for their originals.

An art thus sunk into the mere outward form of a lifeless tradition was, in the highest degree, fitted to be the employment of a rude people in whom, besides their deficiency of all artistic instinct, there lay the seeds of a remarkable manual skilfulness. That which had now become a merely mechanical art, was met by a purely mechanical feeling. The intercourse carried on by Byzantium, not only with the West, but with the Slavonic North, especially after the ninth century, had led to the dissemination of Byzantine Christianity, culture, and art in those countries—qualities which seem the more easily combined when we remember that the Byzantine monks were generally artists as well as missionaries: while, on the other hand (at least among the Russians), all that was gaudy and brilliant in the Byzantine worship, especially its multitude of pictures, was precisely

that which most assisted in their conversion. Thus it was that the Bulgarians, a remnant of the Huns on the Lower Danube, adopted both the Christianity and the art of the Byzantines; and the little we know of Bulgarian painting shows both Byzantine style and motives, only transplanted into a savage soil.* A well-known anecdote leads even to the conclusion that painting was here employed as an essential element in those conversions where preaching and teaching had failed—St. Methodus being reported to have shaken the stubborn heart of Bogaris, king of the Bulgarians, by means of a Last Judgment, which he painted upon the walls of Nicopolis. Not only Bulgaria, but the other countries on the Lower Danube, adopted the Byzantine style. In the great monastery above Tergovist, a place held nationally sacred by the Wallachians, the walls of the church are painted † with saints and figures of the old Waiwodes “in a more than Greek taste.” In a few solitary instances the Byzantine school penetrated high up the Danube, even to the frontiers of Bavaria. The monastery of the Holy Cross in Donauwerth possessed a Greek mosaic picture, representing the Madonna with the archangels Gabriel, Michael, St. Peter, and St. Paul, and both the SS. John. Bohemia even, in the eleventh century, sent a Byzantine representation of the Virgin to Bishop Altman of Passau,‡ though at that time it is certain that the religion and manners of the West had obliterated all traces of Byzantine influence in that country.

Of greater importance was the conversion of the Russians under Wladimir the Great (A. D. 988), who, with the help of innumerable missionaries from Constantinople, succeeded in giving a new aspect, outwardly at least, to the religious

* See D'Agincourt, plate 61, for an idea of the Bulgarian miniatures of the fourteenth century, in a *Codex* in the Vatican. As regards Armenian painting, which, besides the Byzantine models, had an early Christian tradition for its foundation, we are not sufficiently informed to speak. These figures are “stiff and lifeless, flat, without shadows, gaudy in colour, and barbaric in costume.” See Schnaase.

† See Walsh's ‘Travels through European Turkey.’

‡ See Fiorillo's ‘Geschichte der zeichnenden Künste in Deutschland,’ vol. i. p. 93. Bishop Altman's picture on wood was no painting, as Fiorillo affirms, but a relief in metal or ivory: “*tabulam egregia cœlatura pretiosam.*” Vita Altmani, chap. 29.

state of his people : this change was chiefly effected by the institution of bishoprics, monasteries, and schools, as centre of which arose the splendid metropolitan church of Kieff. The Russians received the new doctrines with superstitious humility, and the new art with all the ingenuity and love of imitation which distinguish the Slavonians ; and to this day have done as little to raise either the theology or the painting with which Byzantium endowed them. If, in more recent times, the higher classes of Russia have adopted the views and practice of art belonging to modern Europe, this in no way affects the great mass of the people, among whom religion and painting,—whether owing to any national deficiency of capacity, or to the despotic form of government, or to the long-continued Mongolian yoke,—have both remained only an impoverished and barbarized Byzantine tradition. One chief cause to which this may be attributed, as with the modern Greeks also, is the religious prejudice by which the style of art prevailing in the tenth century was honoured as something essentially belonging to and indivisible from the sacred subjects of Christianity ; so that every exercise of individual power and genius is interdicted to the Russian artist. Thus the picture itself became sacred because its established forms were sacred ; and this is why the common Russian, to this day, thinks that he can never have pictures enough,—rich peasants possessing whole collections of them. The picture is a *fetish*, to be had for money, which is indispensable in every room, and which the lowest soldier takes to battle with him. The churches are covered from floor to roof with pictures ; but the chief splendour is concentrated upon the screen, or “Iconostasis,” that high partition with three doors, entirely behung with pictures of the saints, which separates the altar from the rest of the church, and is the most distinguishing mark of the interior architecture of a Russian place of worship.

It is easy to comprehend that those pictures which, in point of time, stood nearest to their Byzantine originals, or were even executed by Byzantine artists, were the best ; as for instance the frescoes belonging to the church of S. Sophia at Kieff, founded 1037, where, besides these, some

mosaics are also found, of which scarcely an instance occurs later. In the course of centuries, which, however, did not elapse without renewed influence from the declining parent school in the East, forms and colours became ruder and more unmeaning, till at length the last remnant of life departed from the art. A certain amount of the technical habits of the West has now found its way into the more modern Russian sacred pictures, and contrasts strangely with the rigidity of their general forms. But this tendency can be but little indulged, for private piety no less than the laws of the state* require the artist's adherence to the ancient mode of representation, and this decidedly aimed at the gloomy and sombre. We therefore see in these Russian paintings a dark brown colouring, elongated heads, mummy-like hands, and a gaudy drapery; that is, where, instead of the latter, a robe wrought in a species of relief and embossed with gold and silver, is not spread over portions of the picture: this is especially the case on festivals. The effect thus produced is something perfectly spectral, inasmuch as the garment introduced in the mode described is of a plastic nature, while, from a doctrinal aversion to all plastic representation of the human form, the dark-coloured nude is kept as flat as possible. It is precisely this combination, however, frightful as it is, which operates upon the senses of the worshipper, and corresponds with his idea of divine and saintly majesty. This mode of treatment here, as well as in the Byzantine school, is intimately associated with the fact that the artists are chiefly monks and nuns, and that most monasteries are manufactories in which pictures are merely mechanically produced. As the Byzantine workmen depended chiefly on tracing, so the operation of stencilling is here the principal auxiliary.

It only remains for us now briefly to sum up the later and present fate of Byzantine art. From a people so wretched as the Greeks formerly were under Turkish dominion, no one could well expect the practice of art in its higher sense.

* In the year 1551 a Grand Ducal Decree was issued requiring all sacred pictures to be painted like those by *Andrew Rubleff*, a monk who lived towards the close of the fourteenth century.

For more than a century, every Greek boy who showed any talent or energy was regularly marched off to the Janissary barracks in Constantinople. Nevertheless, we can but admire a people who, under such oppression, could still maintain the old tradition of art, whatever that might be. It may be readily supposed that the Turkish sway, and also the slight yet unavoidable influence of Italian art, must have caused some change; still the spirit of the school is to this day essentially Byzantine, setting aside, of course, the academic efforts of the late few years. Partial improvements in colouring and in disposition of drapery, chiefly derived from Italian examples, form a strange and motley contrast with the ever lifeless and constrained forms and composition, while such pictures as are painted without these foreign influences interest us, at all events, as genuine specimens of the Byzantine school.*

A modern traveller, Didron, the French archæologist, who has devoted himself *con amore* to the investigation and study of the Byzantine element of art, made researches in 1839 into the state of painting in Greece, Thessaly, and Macedonia, in order to throw that light upon the subjects of symbolism and iconography especially, which our Western churches, in the white-washed and imperfect state of their walls, no longer afford. The following, as far as they affect our object, are the results he arrived at:—

Mosaic work is now seldom heard of, being a costly species of work, which necessarily declined with the ruin of the people. Those mosaics which are seen in the monastery churches of Daphne near Athens, of St. Luke upon Mount Helicon, and in the church of the Basilians, built by the Emperor Constantine Monomachus upon the island of Chio, belong to the earlier Byzantine time; and only the monastery of Megaspilæon, near Patras, possesses mosaics of the seventeenth century. Otherwise, works existing elsewhere, and such as are now executed, are restricted chiefly to frescoes and pictures on wood, while the department of miniature seems to have greatly declined since the intro-

* The paintings in S. Giorgio de' Greci in Venice give a view of modern Greek art from the fourteenth century down to the present day.

duction of printed books. The incredible quantity of frescoes is especially a subject of astonishment. The churches, compared with those in the West, are small, but very numerous, and are entirely covered with frescoes, the innumerable figures of which embrace the utmost possible range of ecclesiastical subjects. Thus the one single monastery church of the *Panagia Phaneroumene*, upon the island of Salamis, contains no less than 3724 figures, painted jointly by *Giorgios Markos*, a native of Argos, and his three pupils, and completed in 1735. Observation soon proves that the separate subjects are repeated in many churches without any change; nevertheless the unexampled quantity, however hard and slight the execution may be, presents the most striking *coup d'œil*. Didron's astonishment increased as he visited the sacred mount Athos, with its 935 churches, chapels, and oratories. Not only did he find them, one and all, filled with frescoes, but in one of the monasteries he had the opportunity of witnessing the excessively rapid and easy mode in which they are produced—the monk *Joasaph* and his five assistants having painted a Christ and eleven apostles, the size of life, before his eyes, within the space of an hour: this also without cartoons or tracings. One pupil spread the mortar on the wall, the master drew the outline, another laid on the colours and completed the forms, a younger pupil gilt the glories, painted the ornaments, and wrote the inscriptions, which the master dictated to him by memory; and, lastly, two boys were fully occupied in grinding and mixing the colours. It follows that, with a rapidity of execution thus far exceeding all Western practice, a whole church may be painted in a few days. The only question is, what are the conditions of such a power of production, and this enigma is soon explained. The modern Byzantine painters, namely, require to bring no thought whatever of their own to the task. Not only the range of their subjects, but the mode of representation, even to the smallest details, is all supplied to them by tradition and old patterns. They begin with making tracings from the works of their predecessors, and by degrees learn every composition and figure, with their accompanying accessories, so entirely

by heart, that, like the painter *Joasaph*, they work with the utmost rapidity, and without the slightest exertion of thought. The stamp of individual genius or character would be here only a hindrance, and would be as little appreciated as understood. In Greece a painter is quickly forgotten, even if he have painted fifty churches, because he is only the instrument of one common process, and his own personality has nothing to do with his works. Indeed the artists of the Sacred Mount (Hagion Oros) themselves complain of this rapidity of production as a source of corruption, and refer with regret to the good old times, when painters did not invent one whit the more, but copied with more care and industry than now.

Here lies, then, the fundamental difference between Byzantine and Western mediæval art. It is true that the last adhered, in her ecclesiastical subjects, up to the fourteenth century, to certain compositions and motives, and in single figures to certain types which perpetually recur, by which means we may safely infer that the large amount of labour which was required for the decoration of churches and cathedrals was greatly lightened, while, probably for the same reason, the name of the individual artist was seldom known. But the Western artist, if he so desired, retained not only a great freedom in arrangement of subject, but also created every single figure anew. Head, action, and drapery belong to him alone, and are evidences of his artistic personality, not of a tradition independent of himself.

That this tradition, in the case of Byzantine art, should at last have lapsed into mere written directions for all periods, can be no matter of surprise. In point of fact, Didron found in the hands of the monks of Mount Athos several copies of a manuscript containing a close description of the technical process, and explaining single figures, with the mode of their grouping, their distribution on the walls, and all accompanying devices and inscriptions; this being probably that identical 'Explanation of Painting'* (*ἐρμηνεία τῆς ζωγραφ-*

* Published under the title 'Manuel d'Iconographie Chrétienne, Grecque et Latine, avec une introduction et des notes par M. Didron, &c.; traduit

υκῆς), compiled in the fifteenth century from older documents, without which the monks, according to their own confession, could not have continued the art of painting. The author or compiler of the manual was the monk *Dionysius*, of the monastery of Furna, near Agrapha, assisted by his scholar *Cyrl* of Chio. The spirit which dictated this work is sufficiently expressed by the instruction with which it opens, "How tracings should be made." Then follow directions for the preparation of the walls, the nature of the materials, the grinding of the colours, and the mode of laying them on. The second, and by far the most important part, gives recipes for the representation of every possible figure and scene, many of which either never occurred in our Western churches (being peculiar to the Greek form of worship), or no longer exist there. Some of them are:—"The Assembly of all the Saints," "The Ladder of Salvation," "The Seven Synods," and whole classes of Saints; for instance:—"The 72 (70?) Disciples," "The Holy Anargyres, or despisers of money," "The Stylites, or Column Saints," "The Sacred Myrrh Bearers," and, finally, a considerable number of well-known Saints here grouped together under the name of "The Sacred Poets," among whom appears St. John the Evangelist. The third part, or the disposal of the frescoes on the walls of churches and monasteries, does not present the interest we expected, as it especially confines itself to the disposition of Russian churches. Nothing, also, is to be found respecting the different schools. The author dwells with much stress upon the esteemed pictures of the monk *Manuel Panselinos* (who died in the eleventh or twelfth century), of the city of Thessalonica, where *Dionysius* himself learnt the art, and where, to this day, good old pictures exist. On Mount Athos, also, Panselinos is still considered the real founder of the present style of Byzantine painting. No mention is made of Constantinople. Probably the manuscript was not written until after the

du Manuscrit Byzantin, le Guide de la Peinture,' par le Dr. Paul Durand : Paris, Impr. Royale, 1845. A copy of the Greek original is in Munich. In the numbers of his 'Annales Archeologiques,' Didron has given some account of various churches in Greece, with their frescoes, without, however, fully describing the style.

Turkish conquest. For the last few centuries it is certain that Mount Athos has been alone entitled to rank as the general academy of Greek art, inasmuch as almost every artist has pursued his studies there, and a countless number of pictures on wood are imported thence as articles of commerce, to Greece, Turkey, and Russia. If we consider, also, that the tradition of art has, according to all evidence, existed on this sacred mount in one unbroken course since the sixth century, we shall feel that thirteen hundred years entitle this school of religious artists, whatever be its style, to a certain degree of respect, although precisely that quality has preserved it in life which has proved the ruin of Western schools of art, viz., the inflexible adherence to conventional forms.

It is a remarkable fact that the Byzantine style of art, even in these times, is congenial to the feelings of certain Western races, who with small knowledge and great devotion, find in these strange and dismal pictures fitting incentives for their zeal. A genuine Byzantine Madonna picture, or one executed in the same style, with dark face and stiff gold garments, will everywhere most readily obtain the repute of a miraculous picture—an honour seldom bestowed on the most finished work of art. In those parts of Italy where the Byzantine dominion lasted the longest, the cultivation of the stiff Byzantine type, for popular devotion, was maintained in juxtaposition with that of the most perfectly developed form of painting.* In Venice, as late as the last century, painters of “sacred pictures” still existed; and in Naples, to this day, a lemonade seller will permit none other than a Byzantine Madonna, with olive-green complexion and veiled head, to be painted up in his booth. We here stand upon ground to which *Titian* and *Ribera*, with all their influence, have not yet penetrated.

* The Museum of Berlin possesses a *Pietà* of the fourteenth century, which has been translated from a picture by Giovanni Bellini into the Byzantine style.



BOOK II.

THE ART OF THE MIDDLE AGES IN ITALY.

PART I.

THE ROMANESQUE STYLE.

ITALIAN art in the eleventh century was divided between the native and the Byzantine styles—the one as utterly rude as the other was deeply sunk. Upon the whole, however, the Byzantine had the ascendancy. But after the close of the eleventh century, that epoch of national prosperity dawned upon the distracted country, which sooner or later, never fails to infuse into art a fresh and higher life. The Roman Church arose from a long-continued state of degradation, for which she was herself partly accountable, to be mistress of the West. She reinstated Rome as the centre of the world, and restored to the Italians a sense of national existence; at the same time a new social element, consisting of the free townships which had maintained their rights successfully against all aggression, was now called into being in Upper and Lower Italy. Slowly, but unmistakably, we now trace the rise of a new and independent style in art, which, by the thirteenth century, had assumed a greater decision of character. The progress of particular departments of this development is, however, entirely hidden from us. We only perceive that earlier or later, according to the local conditions of each district, the Byzantine style and the old native Longobardian became amalgamated into a new whole—first one, and then another constituent feature predominating, but always governed and impelled forward by the same new tendency. The Byzantine style was, at that time, so utterly sapless and withered, even in its native land, that it could as little resist as rival the innovating principle, though individual painters occasionally

made the attempt. Piece by piece it gradually crumbled away; features, extremities, drapery, composition, and action underwent a gradual, and often very irregular transformation. And here the term "Romanesque" becomes applicable, for now it was that in Italy also the metamorphosis of the antique tradition into the spirit of the newly created nationality first took place. The epoch of Byzantine art in Italy may be said to have borne the character of an intermediate school only, introduced and upheld by external circumstances. This we may justly assume from the evidence of Italian sculpture, which, even in the eleventh century, with all its rudeness and barbarity, still agrees in principle with the Gothic Romanesque. Even the conquest of Constantinople by the Latins in 1204, though it was the means of pouring into Italy a number of Byzantine artists and works of art, occurred too late to arrest the change. Contemporary with the same works in which the influence of these last emigrants from the East is supposed to be discernible, arose others in which a very considerable progress in the new tendency may be discovered, and much earlier even than this may be traced, at all events, the first germs of a purely Western Italian mode of conception.

Upon the whole, it must be admitted that the Italian examples of the eleventh and twelfth centuries fall short of those of the same period in the North, which, considering the confusion of all the political relations of Italy, and the comparative prosperity of the countries on the other side of the Alps, need not surprise us. But at the same time we should do wrong to form our judgment from a few manuscripts which are here made the criterion of comparison, and which, as works of an inferior kind, can lead to no strict conclusions. In the prime of a period of art, manuscripts may perhaps be admitted as safe evidence, but not so in the time of its decay; for, dependent as this species of decoration necessarily is, it cannot always enlist the best artistic resources in its service.

One of the old manuscripts from which the art of this period has been estimated exists in the library of the Vatican. It contains a poem by one Donizo, in praise of the celebrated Countess Matilda of Tuscany, and is decorated with rudely

coloured pen-drawings, of an historical nature, of the latter end of the eleventh century.* The outlines here are in the highest degree feeble and uncertain, the colouring utterly rude and blotty; the expression of the artist's intention, however, though confined to simple and awkward actions, not so entirely despicable. Somewhat better are the miniatures of a so-called "Exultet," partly of liturgical, partly of symbolical import,† in the Barberini Palace at Rome. Though form and arrangement are here essentially of the stiff symmetrical order, yet the details throughout are of the native Italian character, and thus, though in the highest degree rude, they are not dry and inanimate, like those of the Byzantine school. Equally partaking of both styles, we may mention also the wall paintings with the date 1011 (?) in the church of S. Urbano at Rome, generally designated *Il Tempio della Caffarella*.‡ These represent the Passion, a glorified Christ, and the legend of St. Urbanus, chiefly in a relief-like, and sometimes very tolerably conceived arrangement, which indubitably places them upon a par with many contemporary Northern works. The immoderate length and leanness of the proportions, and the unmeaning character of the drapery, betray the Byzantine influence; while, on the other hand, the comparative animation of the composition, and the speaking though clumsy action, give evidence of a power already considerably in advance of the other. Drawing and artistic execution are in every way defective.§

We now trace the development of Italian art far more decidedly in some works of the twelfth century. The Basilica

* See D'Agincourt, plate 66; and, for notices of some Italian miniatures of the ninth and tenth centuries, Waagen's 'Kunstw. und Künstler in Paris,' pp. 260 and 267.

† See D'Agincourt, plate 53.

‡ Ibid., plate 94. These wall-paintings are now scarcely discernible. We pass over the no longer existing frescoes of other Roman churches which have been described by Ciampini and Bosio; also those scarcely visible and probably very ancient remains in S. Sylvestro ai Monti, in Rome. See plate 105.

§ Other relics of this period are enumerated by Rumohr ('Ital. Forschungen,' vol. i. p. 240), whose too fastidious verdict, however, we cannot possibly subscribe to. Why he should assign the paintings in S. Urbano to the twelfth century is not easily accounted for. As far as any opinion can be formed of them in their present state, we know of no argument for not supposing them to be from one to two centuries earlier.

of S. Maria in Trastevere at Rome still possesses its mosaics of the time of Innocent II. and Eugenius III. (A.D. 1139–1153). In the large recess formed by the front may be seen the Virgin upon the throne; before her kneel the very diminutive figures of both the above-mentioned Popes, while on each side ten female saints are seen advancing, eight of whom are distinguished as supposed martyrs, by their crowns, and basins with streaks of blood.* The very slender proportions and the mode in which portions of the drapery are loaded with ornaments, though devoid of all folds, are relics of the Byzantine school, while the simplicity and comparative purity of style noticeable in the flowing arrangement of other parts show signs of Gothic feeling. The mosaics, however, within and around the tribune of the choir, are more important. Christ and the Virgin, here, for the first time, seen in this juxtaposition, are seated upon a magnificent throne, His arm laid upon her shoulder. On either side are six saints with Pope Innocent; below, on a blue ground, are the thirteen lambs. Above the tribune are the usual symbols of the Evangelists with those of the Apocalypse; next these, on a larger scale, are Isaiah and Jeremiah unfolding their scrolls; below each of these, two genii extending a cloth filled with fruits, birds, and vessels, almost in the spirit of later Pagan art. Here the release from the trammels of the Byzantine school is obviously far advanced; and this may be considered as perhaps the first purely Western work of a higher order produced by Italian art. We are here agreeably surprised with free and original motives, and even with admirable attempts at individual character, while the conception of the two principal figures is perfectly new. The proportions are rather short than long; the forms not angular, but soft and round; the robe of Christ especially is distinguished by great dignity and beauty of arrangement. The Prophets, in

* These are generally taken for the wise and foolish virgins, because their basins or bowls have somewhat the form of lamps. The style of these mosaics certainly differs from those in the interior, but still indicates the period of the twelfth century. Later, i. e., after 1300, *Pietro Cavallini* is supposed to have decorated the façade of this church with mosaics, which no longer exist. But that the statement of Vasari in no way refers to these is proved by the authentic works of *Cavallini*.

their animated, half-advancing position, exhibit also a totally new, however imperfect, idea of the principles of the human form. At the same time, the rudeness of the execution, the outspread form of the feet, and the unmeaning character of particular portions of the drapery, show how deep had been the decline from which art was now endeavouring to rise.

The tribune mosaics of the beautiful Basilica of S. Clemente in Rome, which also belong to the first half of the twelfth century, afford us the proof that painting here, as in the Romanesque period of Gothic art, assumed, in its conformity with architecture, the character of a decoration. The semidome of the tribune—a gold ground—is filled with the charmingly arranged branches of a vine, from the centre of which springs a crucifix with twelve doves. On either side of the cross are the Virgin and John the Baptist; below, at the roots of the vine, are the four streams of Paradise, at which peacocks and stags are refreshing themselves; upon and between the boughs are birds and small human figures, among them the four Fathers of the church. Below the semidome, as usual, are the thirteen lambs; on the upper part of the wall a bust picture of Christ and the symbols of the Evangelists; then on each side, seated contiguously, a saint and apostle; and further below, on each side, a prophet.* In lieu of the Byzantine mode of crowding the spaces, without any regard to architectural effect (as in S. Prassede), we observe here an agreeable simplicity of arrangement. The figures, in manner and proportion, resemble those in S. Maria in Trastevere, and, like those, are of a thoroughly Western character. The four seated figures, especially, are distinguished by a lively character which we seek for in vain among the Roman mosaics of a foregoing period. And, by the commencement of the thirteenth century—a period when the Roman church attained great power under Innocent III.—the influence of Byzantine tradition, as far as regards single works of art, seems to have been entirely overcome. We may cite the carved doors of S. Sabina, on the Aventine Hill, as an instance, though, as belonging to the department of sculpture, they are hardly a

* The Apostles upon the wall of the choir tribune can, in their present state, only pass for the works of *Giorenale de Orvieto*, about 1400.

legitimate criterion.* In other respects slight indications of the old and apparently forgotten school of the East are traceable through the whole century. For example, the gigantic mosaics of the choir tribune of S. Paolo fuori le mura (greatly restored) are less free from Byzantine influence than the works we have just described, though undertaken as late as 1216–1227, under Honorius III., and not completed till the close of that century. In the semidome is seen the Saviour enthroned between St. Peter, St. Luke, St. Paul, and St. Andrew, with the very diminutive figure of Honorius kneeling at His feet. Farther below, on the wall of the tribune, are the standing figures of the Apostles with scrolls (containing the articles of the Apostolic Creed) and palm-trees. The heads and garments still display much of Byzantine feebleness: the general proportions and the chief motives, however, indicate a pleasing return to the great models of early Christian date, which, altogether, had far more influence upon this period of reviving art than those of the remoter antique times. Instead of lifeless masses of figures piled together, we are here refreshed with few and simple forms. At the same time it is possible that these mosaics may be merely the repetition of a former set occupying the same locality as early as the fourth century. The numerous paintings which once decorated the walls of this church were destroyed by the fire of 1823.† The same fate befell the mosaics of the west façade, executed by *Pietro Cavallini* in 1300. The side chapel of the transept, called the Oratorio di S. Giuliano, which was preserved, contains numerous figures of saints, probably of the twelfth or thirteenth century, but greatly overpainted. A certain criterion, however, of the state of painting under Honorius III. may be formed

* The same dramatic liveliness of action which distinguishes this work appears to have been peculiar also to the now obliterated wall paintings (scenes of monastic life) in the abbey *Alle Tre Fontane* in Rome, also erected in the time of Innocent III. See some slight illustrations in D'Agincourt, plate 97. The paintings in the vestibule were by another and inferior hand.

† They belonged, at all events in part, to the time of Benedict VIII. (1012–1024). The illustrations given in D'Agincourt, plate 96, indicate a style which greatly resembles the wall-paintings of S. Urbano, and would strengthen the evidence in favour of their great age.

from the wall pictures in the vestibule of S. Lorenzo fuori le mura, near Rome,* which are partly of legendary, partly of historical import—for instance, the communion and coronation of the Latin Emperor of Constantinople, Peter de Courtenay, 1217. In spite of original rudeness and repeated overpaintings, we still perceive in many single figures a picturesque arrangement, an animated expression, and a feeling for significant rounding, which appear to promise a speedy and higher development.

Nevertheless, full eighty years elapsed before this development made any further progress. Even the contemporary wall-paintings in the interior of the same church are incomparably smaller and inferior; and, as to the small mosaic subjects in the frieze of the vestibule, they may fairly rank as the rudest and most wretched specimens of this line of art that Rome contains. Many other works also of Roman painting are more feeble and undeveloped than those of the period just before them. The wall-painting in the Sylvester Chapel near the church of the SS. Quattro Coronati at Rome, executed about 1245, exhibits an obvious retrograde movement. The figures are systematically arranged and placed together in true Byzantine fashion, so that the same intention repeats itself in the whole series. The heads also belong decidedly to the same school, though the mosaics in S. Maria in Trastevere seem already to have cast it off. The subjects of those in the Sylvester chapel refer chiefly to the legends of the pope of that name. The mosaics also of two small recesses in S. Costanza, near Rome, built by Alexander IV. (1254–1261), representing the Saviour with two Apostles and four sheep, and again seated upon the globe of the world with palm-trees and one Apostle, are very rudely executed, and scarcely equal, in composition, the mosaics of S. Clemente, which are above a century earlier.† Here we must also mention the great mosaics in the front of the Duomo or

* See D'Agincourt, plate 99. The four larger figures have been somewhat modernized by the engraver. In the interior, next the chief door, on the right, may be seen a Madonna, painted upon the wall—Byzantine in style, though tolerably animated.

† See D'Agincourt, plate 101. Other fragments are described by Rumohr, vol. i. 275.

Cathedral of Spoleto,* representing the Saviour enthroned, with the Virgin and St. John beside him. It is marked with the date 1267, and the name of the master, *Solsernus*. This exhibits the usual Byzantine arrangement in all its grandeur.

The Benedictine convent at Subiaco, called "Il Sacro Speco," shows paintings of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. St. Francis is known to have visited this convent in 1216, and a portrait of a Mendicant friar, inscribed with his name, is still visible there. If, as is asserted, a genuine portrait of the saint, it is curious as bearing no witness to the legend of the Stigmata, for no such marks are given.

In the Italian manuscripts of this period a composition and construction are displayed which, however rude and careless, are still,† upon the whole, allied with those of the larger works of art. Here, as in the Empire of the East, the copying of earlier works was usual, though pursued with less slavishness of manner, being treated more in the spirit of a free repetition. The miniatures belonging to a Virgil in the Vatican Library,‡ probably of the 13th century, consist apparently of freely transposed antique motives, in which it is difficult to distinguish the defects of the first hand from those of the second. Not only the general invention of this work, but every detail also of position, action, and drapery, and even the highly placed line of horizon, lead us directly back to the late Roman style of art. The heads, also, have the antique breadth and youthfulness; all, however, seen under the disguise of a barbaric transformation.§

* See Rumohr, in the Tüb. Kunstblatt, 1821, No. 9, with an engraving; also 'Ital. Forsch.', vol. i. p. 338.

† See D'Agincourt, plates 67 and 69; also Waagen's 'Kunstw. und Künstler in Paris,' pp. 260 and 267, regarding some Italian miniatures of the ninth and tenth centuries.

‡ Marked No. 3867. See D'Agincourt, plate 63.

§ We suggest the possibility of this manuscript belonging, as Mabillon believed, to the sixth century. The splendid uncial letters,¹ and the absence of every characteristic peculiarity of the middle ages by which all late copies are betrayed, would incline us to question the period which D'Agincourt, judging only from the style, has assigned to this work.

¹ ["Uncial letters, which are large and round, while capitals are square, began to be adopted about the middle of the fifth century." See Horne's 'Introduction to Bibliography.'—C. L. E.]

In Venice, where Byzantine painting had struck the deepest root, the struggle between ancient and modern art assumed a different character to that in Rome. We have here the strange spectacle of a bold mind, at once, with one great work, breaking through the trammels of tradition, while succeeding artists lapsed deeper than ever into the old forms.

In the great mosaics of the cathedral of the neighbouring island of Torcello, belonging apparently to the 12th century, and representing the Resurrection and Day of Judgment, we already perceive a greater liveliness of conception and richness of thought. Incomparably more important, however, are the cupolas and lunettes of the vestibule of St. Mark in Venice itself. In the mosaics of the waggon roofs and semi-circular recesses of a portion of this vestibule, called the Cappella Zeno, we have the Life of St. Mark and a Madonna between two Angels—works of the utmost Byzantine elegance and neatness, and excelling in a remarkable manner not only all contemporary but most preceding works. The gold lights of the drapery, the heads—in short, all the details—are executed with extraordinary care. It is striking how, in the still totally trammelled forms, a fresh *Western* spirit is perceptible; action and position being more animated, and conception finer and larger, than in genuine Byzantine works. These mosaics, which we may attribute to the twelfth century,* constitute the transition to those in the vestibule nearest the three inner doors, as well as to those on the left side of the building, and these last may be adjudged to the thirteenth century. They represent in a rich succession of pictures, partly upon a white and partly upon a gold ground, the Bible history from the Creation of the world to the time of Moses, and are distributed without distinction in the shallow cupolas, in the lunettes, and in the soffits of the arches. The execution is

* See G. Piazza (*La Regia Basilica di San Marco*), Venice, 1835, who assigns them to the sixteenth century, probably only because that was the period when the chapel received some alterations, and was applied to a different purpose. The style of these mosaics, however, defeats that surmise. Similar in character, and but little inferior in grace, is the translation of the body of St. Mark on one of the walls of the right transept.

careful, but by no means so delicate and fine as in the Cappella Zeno; while on the other hand, the fresh and almost totally Western tendency of art bursts upon us here with such surprising richness, that we may regard these works as the finest productions of the Romanesque style. Innumerable new artistic motives are here expressed in forms which remind us occasionally of the Byzantine mode of conception, but still oftener of that of the early Christian period. In point of fact, however, we here see the manifestations of a new consciousness in art. The soft round forms, the flowing drapery, the occasionally very expressive heads, and the freedom of action, evince not so much a return to early tradition, as to an instinctive feeling for nature, and display a character hitherto unknown in Venetian art. The historical occurrences are distinctly and intelligibly expressed—action and drawing animated and clear. In the details, also, there is much which is archæologically important. The youthful archangels which, at the Creation of the world, occupy the place of the Deity, remind us of antique Victories—one of them is distinguished by cross and nimbus. The history of Joseph in particular, is full of remarkable features.*

This distinguished example found at first, however, but few followers. Those mosaics in S. Mark's which are, with probability, attributed to the close of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth century, are incomparably more Byzantine and conventional, though, upon the whole, a somewhat freer mode of conception is apparent in them. We allude here only to those mosaics in the chapel which serves as a baptistery—also constituting a portion of this remarkable vestibule—and less for the style than for the subjects

* See the catalogue of these mosaics in the *Tübinger Kunstblatt*, 1831, Nos. 32 and 33. Rumohr, in his *Ital. Forsch.*, p. 175, is of opinion that these mosaics, as well as the vestibule itself, date from the time of the Greek exarchate (the sixth and seventh centuries). But there is no possible reason to imagine that the vestibule is older than the rest of the building; and even if the style did not so totally differ from the accredited works of the Exarchal time, the mediæval costumes which occasionally occur are sufficient evidence of a much more modern period. We take this opportunity to remark that these mosaics are here and there interspersed with works of the time of the Vivarini and Titian.

of the pictures, which, beside the history of the Baptist, contain a series of symbolical scenes and figures in relation to the rite of baptism. In one of the shallow domes is the figure of Christ borne on cherubim, and surrounded by nine undraped angelic figures (half-lengths). Forming another and wider circle are nine other angels, each of whom indicate their office towards the human family by some appropriate action; thus showing the particular class of the heavenly hierarchy to which they belong. An angel, for example, of the class of Thrones, is seated with crown and sceptre upon the starred globe of the world: St. Michael in armour, with spear and scales, represents Dominations; an angel is holding a child in swaddling clothes in token of being its guardian spirit; an archangel sustains a naked supplicating figure (a soul); while below, in a pit, three lamenting forms (souls of the newly-born, or dwellers in purgatory,) are clinging one to the other. An angel, again, with the inscription "Virtutes," beckons authoritatively to a skeleton on the ground to rise up—fire and water being close by as signs of the second birth. Another, of the order of Powers, is binding the hideous form of Satan which lies before him; another is seated in helmet and armour upon a throne—a seraph with a staff being similarly placed. Finally, a cherub with ten wings is seen bearing the inscription "Plenitudo scientiæ" upon his breast. The decorations of the second shallow dome are better executed. Round the figure of Christ are arranged twelve groups, representing the baptism of each apostle, with explanatory inscriptions. The person to be baptized appears always standing in a stone basin—behind him a figure as witness and a town in token of the locality. A lunette with the baptism of Christ is ascribed (though wrongfully) to the eleventh century: the scene takes place in the presence of adoring angels. From out the river Jordan, which is full of fishes, rises a siren with golden scales on her body, a symbol of the world and its attractions; and, as such, a significant contrast to the subject of baptism.* The rest consist chiefly of scenes from the life of the Baptist, rather

* So explained in the *Reda umbs diu tier* (eleventh century) in Wackernagel's '*Altdeutsches Lesebuch*,' 1st edition, 104.

unusual in character; for instance, as he is seen led by an angel in the desert—receiving the coat of camel's hair from another angel, &c., with other similar subjects.*

In the works of Lombard painters also we remark a decided movement at the commencement of the thirteenth century. Here, where perhaps Byzantine feeling never entirely obtained the mastery, an element of art is observable which often occurs in German-Romanesque works, namely, a vehemence of dramatic representation. The most important are the wall-paintings in the baptistery at Parma, particularly those on the ceiling, which were executed probably about the year 1230.† They are in three compartments: in the uppermost are the Apostles and the symbols of the Evangelists; under

* In the art of Lower Italy, also, which in these times constituted a rival to that of Venice, the germ of a new development began to show itself about the commencement of the thirteenth century (or even earlier), of which, at present, we have no certain history. The Gallery at Naples contains a considerable number of late Byzantine pictures, some of which appear to confirm this fact, though, having no date or locality upon them, they may perhaps have been gathered together from the most opposite parts of Italy. One school, however, that of Otranto, in Apulia, was accustomed to mark its pictures, at least, with the name of the place. These are mostly small miniature-like altar triptychs, &c., of thoroughly Byzantine treatment in colour and handling. The flesh is of a brick-colour; the draperies very dark; the gradations of shadows hatched; the lights thickly applied (seldom with gold). With all this, singular to say, we remark a certain breadth and feeling for composition as regards the human form. The drapery, in spite of the well-known Byzantine multiplicity of folds, shows a simple and intelligent mode of arrangement. The heads also have so far departed from the Byzantine type as to display some liveliness of expression. But the most remarkable feature is the total absence of the gold ground, which is replaced either by a black ground or by a rich fantastic landscape, with a blue sky. For these combined reasons, however, it is utterly impossible to assign these works to the twelfth or even to the thirteenth century, as D'Agincourt persists in doing. The best picture—the Christ in the Garden with the Magdalen—in the Museo Cristiano in the Vatican (See D'Agincourt, plate 92), bears the inscription “Donatus Bizamanus pinxit in Hotranto.” The same family name recurs frequently,—for instance, upon a Visitation of the Virgin (plate 93) which obviously belongs to the fifteenth century, though the colouring is still somewhat Byzantine. Upon the whole, we may conclude that the school of Otranto itself is not much older than the fifteenth century. Should it, however, be proved to be earlier than the period of the influence of the Flemish school upon the Neapolitan, the circumstance of the finished character of the landscape would justify a strict inquiry. Otranto pictures are not seldom seen in the market of art under every possible denomination.

† See Kugler, ‘Tübinger Kunstblatt,’ Nos. 6–8: also Lanzi, translated by Quandt and Wagner, vol. ii. p. 294, and further.

these the Prophets, and other characters of the Old Testament, and, in a niche, Christ with the Virgin, and John the Baptist. In the third row, between the windows, are twelve scenes from the life of John the Baptist, and two saints next each window. In these we also find all the hardness of execution which characterises the Byzantine style, united with a powerful and lively colouring, and an impassioned vehemence in the action, which is carried even to exaggeration. The figure of an angel, which is frequently repeated, seems scarcely to touch the ground, so rapid is the movement; the disciples going to meet John in the wilderness appear in the greatest haste; the gestures of John while baptizing—those of the imploring sick—of the disciples when their master is taken prisoner—of the soldier who acts as executioner—all appear to be the production of a fancy which delighted in the most vehement and excited action. This energy manifests itself also in attitudes of repose, particularly in the noble dignity of Daniel and of the two prophets beside him. In these works we see the first violent efforts of a youthful and vigorous fancy, endeavouring to bend to its purposes the still lifeless form of art with which it had to deal.

Belonging also to the thirteenth century, and to Rome and its neighbourhood, were the family of the *Cosmati*, who laboured, as inscriptions testify, in mosaics and paintings in the Cathedral of Civita Castellana, at Subiaco, and in the Cathedral of Anagni. To one of the same family, who lived in the fourteenth century, belong various monuments; that of Cardinal Gonsalvi, in S. Maria Maggiore, and of Durand, Bishop of Mende, in S. Maria sopra Minerva, both in Rome; verified also by inscriptions. The interesting mosaics of the tribune and arch of the tribune in S. Maria in Trastevere, in which a dawning sense of composition is perceptible, are the work of the school of the *Cosmati*. It is believed that *Pietro Cavallini*, also a Roman, was a scion of the *Cosmati*. He is recorded to have been the author of the choir tribune mosaics in S. Maria in Trastevere at Rome; also of frescoes in the same church of which only vestiges survive. It is certain that he was in the service of Robert of Naples in 1308. He was thus cotemporary with *Giotto*,

whose designs he carried out in the mosaics of the façade of S. Paoli fuori le mura.*

The foregoing suffices to show that the rise of mediæval painting in Tuscany, the inquiry into which we have delayed till now, was no isolated circumstance, but that, on the contrary, the most opposite parts of Italy began at this time unanimously to stir with new artistic life. We wish especially to call the reader's attention to this fact, because the more modern Italian writers on art, being chiefly Tuscans by birth, have been inclined to exaggerate the influence of their native art upon the rest of Italy, great as that undoubtedly was.

The origin of Tuscan painting, in spite of (and in some measure on account of) various early inquiries, is still very obscure, and modern investigation has served more to show the confusion which attends its history than to throw any positive light on it. Thus far appears certain, that Tuscany—namely, Pisa and Siena, as well as Florence—pursued, at the commencement of the thirteenth century, the Byzantine mode, and that the old rude Western style had almost disappeared before then.† At all events, no specimen exists which shows so decided a Western conception of form and composition as the mosaics of S. Maria in Trastevere, in Rome (A.D. 1139–1153), or those in the vestibule of S. Mark's at Venice. We shall find, also, that the later Tuscan artists of the thirteenth century remained and continued, in many external respects, far more dependent on the Byzantine school than those of contemporary date in Rome, though they surpass these latter in thought and invention. This, therefore, is the question we have to treat—namely, what painter, or

* The mosaics on the wall above the choir tribune of S. Paolo fuori le mura, and those on the inner side of the Arch of Triumph, may have been the production of a contemporary of *Cavallini*. They represent the Virgin and the Baptist on the one side, and St. Peter and St. Paul on the other. At all events, the influence of the Gothic style, as modified by the Tuscan school, is already decided.

† In the department of sculpture it is possible that it may always have been kept up. In painting, however, an *Exultet*, and another manuscript in the Opera of the cathedral of Pisa (see E. Förster, 'Beiträge zur neuern Kunstgeschichte,' 1835, p. 78), may be considered as the latest specimens of the native style, and belong probably to the twelfth century.

what local school within the dominion of the Byzantine influence, first began to show an independent feeling?

We head the list of the more remarkable works fitted to decide this question with the wall-paintings in the church of S. Pietro (or S. Bero) in Grado, upon the high road between Pisa and Leghorn, probably executed about 1200. Here, upon the upper walls of the middle aisle, we perceive the histories of St. Peter and St. Paul, with the figures of angels at open or half-closed windows above them, and, in the spandrils of the arches, portraits of the Popes. The figures in the upper row display "the graceful meagreness" of Byzantine forms, though the arrangement is good and animated.* Setting aside, however, this somewhat doubtful specimen, we next come to a picture on wood in the public gallery at Siena, dated 1215, representing a Christ (slightly relieved) between the signs of the Evangelists, and six scenes from the New Testament.† It so happens, however, that this picture in no way belongs to the Byzantine school, but partakes, by way of exception, of the purely Italian style, the figures being short, with heavy outlines of a clearly-expressed, but rude character, in barbaric drapery.

We now trace the more authentic specimens with greater frequency, inasmuch as not only particular works are marked with name and date, but even particular masters determined by curious (though not always trustworthy) tradition—an advantage which contemporary German art is almost entirely devoid of. And first, two artists come under our consideration, who, though perhaps not the most distinguished of their time, and still too much fettered by Byzantine mannerism to compare with the dramatic animation of the wall-paintings in the Baptistery at Parma, or with the mosaics in the vesti-

* See Rumohr, p. 345. E. Förster, in his 'Beiträge zur neuern Kunstgeschichte,' p. 85, designates these pictures, it is true, as tame, awkward, and incorrect in drawing, but only in reference to the period assigned to them, namely, after 1352. This period is determined by the portraits of the popes, which extend to Clement VI. It is possible however, that, when first executed, a space was left free (as in S. Apollinare in Classe, near Ravenna) for later comers. Examples may be found in Giov. Rosini, 'Storia della Pittura Italiana.' Atlas, plate 5.

† See Rumohr, vol. i. p. 297.



Large Picture by Guido da Siena, in the Church of S. Domenico, Siena, dated 1221.

bule of S. Mark's, yet, in the comparative adherence to nature evinced by their works, far outstep the bounds of Byzantine convention.

The first is *Guido Gratiani*, or *Guido da Siena*, by whom there is a large Madonna picture in S. Domenico at Siena (in the second chapel on the left), inscribed with the name of the master, and the date 1221. (See woodcut.) The style of this painting is still perfectly Byzantine, yet not without dignity and a peculiar *naïveté* in the attitude of the principal figure, and in the round, graceful head of the child.* It must be owned, however, that the inscription is known to have been retouched, and suspected to have been altered. The researches of several modern historians have elicited no mention of a Siennese *Guido* earlier in date than 1278. The second is *Giunto da Pisa*, who lived, according to old chronicles, from 1202 to 1258,† whose name, with the date 1236, was inscribed on a picture of the Crucifixion, now lost, formerly in the church of S. Francesco at Assisi. He, too, is a very obscure subject. Among the existing works ascribed to him (not, indeed, on sufficient grounds) may be particularly mentioned—besides a crucifix in S. Ranieri, and a picture with saints in the chapel of the Campo Santo at Pisa—some wall-paintings in the upper church of S. Francesco at Assisi, consisting of the Martyrdom of St. Peter, the Destruction of Simon Magus, who is borne violently through the air by demons, and the decorations round the furthest window of the choir tribune—the first very much over-painted. Action and expression are still feeble and fettered. Nevertheless we perceive a certain feeling for purer form and livelier colouring, such as is foreign to the Byzantine artist

* See D'Agincourt, plate 107; Kugler, 'Tüb. Kunstblatt,' 1827, No. 47; Rumohr, 'Ital. Forsch.,' p. 334. The picture has been partly restored and painted over; but in the figures of the angels and in the upper spandrels the old execution is quite visible. The inscription contains the following playful verse:

"Me Guido de Senis diebus depinxit amœnis:
Quem Christus lenis nullis velit angere pœnis."

Perhaps the earliest evidence of a freshly-awakened artistic complacency at an originally conceived work.

† See Kugler, 'Tüb. Kunstblatt,' 1827, Nos. 26 and 27. Also D'Agincourt, plate 102.

of that late period.* And as these works serve as specimens of the awakening taste of the day at Siena and Pisa, so the same may be said of those in the baptistery or church of S. Giovanni, at Florence. The mosaics here, in the arch of the quadrangular altar-tribune, bear an inscription designating the artist as a Franciscan monk by the name of *Jacobus*,† with the date 1225. The subject is a circle of saintly personages, ranged round the Agnus Dei, and supported by four kneeling male figures in the spandrels of the arches. The Byzantine motives which occur here appear to be more happily chosen than in *Guido da Siena*'s works. The architecturally disposed arrangement reminds us also of those early Christian models which here, as in other parts of Italy, exercised an influence over the newly-awakening spirit of art. The mosaics, however, of the octagonal dome are by very various hands, and of very various periods. They are arranged in several concentric bands, the innermost containing groups of angels; the second, subjects from Genesis; the third, the life of Joseph; the fourth, the life of Christ; and the fifth, that of John the Baptist. Nearest before the tribune these bands are interrupted by an enthroned Christ of colossal size, which, as well as the groups of angels, is supposed to be the work of the Florentine artist, *Andrea Tafi* (A.D. 1213-1294), who studied under the Greek mosaicists in Venice. The Christ is a figure of the strictest Byzantine type, but with a certain fulness and dignity of form, very different to the meagre weakness in vogue among the Byzantines of the time. The execution is delicate and neat, the gold hatchings consistently carried out. The Greek artist *Apollonius* is supposed to have contributed to other portions of the dome—he whom *Tafi* (according to Vasari) had prevailed upon to remove from Venice to Florence. Thus far

* The lively, or rather gaudy, colouring to which the author alludes sometimes occurs in the draperies of the Byzantines, but never in the flesh tints. Some miniature illuminations of the twelfth century may be quoted as specimens. See Dr. Waagen, 'Kunstwerke, &c., in Paris,' 1839, p. 226. Rumohr ('Ital. Forsch.') is of opinion that neither of the two painters above mentioned equalled their Byzantine models.—C. L. E.

† Rumohr, vol. i. p. 387, has satisfactorily proved that this *Jacobus* has nothing to do with the monk *Jacob of Turrata*, or *Jacobus Toriti*, of whom more hereafter.

the account is sufficiently questionable; but when *Apollonius* is magnified into a whole Greek school at Florence, and their settling there brought into conjunction with the fall of Constantinople, the whole assertion falls to the ground. There is no doubt that Venice at that time offered the nearest source for fine and elegant Byzantine mosaic work; but we question very much whether, even in Venice, any considerable body of native Greek artists existed at all, and whether there may not rather have existed, from the twelfth century, an independent school of Venetian-Byzantine art.* Altogether it appears to us that too much stress is laid upon the last supposed emigration of Greek artists. The apparently sudden rise of Byzantine forms of art in Tuscany, at the beginning of the thirteenth century, may be accounted for in a different way. We must not overlook the fact that, with the exception of Pisa, the highest prosperity of the country, and of its chief cities, dates from that time, and that in the newly-awakened demand for mosaics the delicate Venetian workmanship could not fail to be preferred to the incomparably ruder Roman, or to the remotely situated Norman-Sicilian school. That, with the technical execution of Venice, the style should follow (if this latter had not actually preceded it) need not surprise us, nor that the style should influence other departments of painting; an analogous case being supplied to us in the Flemish art of oil-painting, which, wherever, it was introduced, brought almost invariably something of Flemish reality in its train.

It was the latter half of the thirteenth century which really developed the new tendency. Here, however, we must give a brief view of that renovation which marked the intellectual life of the time, the development of Tuscan art being only intelligible when considered in connection with it.

The thirteenth century had commenced with the papacy of Innocent III., under whose great gifts and triumphant measures the See of Rome attained a power and splendour unknown before. The highest feeling of religious enthusiasm pervaded the country. The glowing devotion of St. Francis of Assisi inspired all hearts. How then could the debased

* See Rumohr, vol. i. p. 349.

and haggard forms of the Byzantine school have fulfilled the purposes of religious art at such a period? Sooner or later a truer expression of feeling was sure to break the bonds by which it had been paralysed. Other moral tendencies also of a contemporary date contributed to the complete emancipation of art. At this period commences the true nationality of Italy, announced, among other signs, by the rise of a splendid literature in the vernacular tongue, and which, though it bore a very different fruit to that produced by the contemporary spirit of chivalry in the North, was equally pregnant with great results. One common impulse for the attainment of a higher ideal animated every department of civilization in the Western Empire, and in art, though only for a brief moment, approached the form of the highest classical perfection. This was the case, namely, in a few specimens of sculpture of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, though it is highly probable that the authors of them were devoid of all knowledge of the antique. The early works of the great sculptor *Nicola Pisano* (born about 1300) are strongly marked with this tendency, till, having himself come in contact with an antique example, he formed his style immediately upon it. Here, however, as in Germany and France, this free and elevated conception of form and character was destined soon to give way to a more conventional, and even to a mannered Gothic style, without having produced any obvious effect upon the department of painting. The immediate followers of *Nicola Pisano* departed at once from his example, while, in those paintings contemporary with and closely succeeding him, that higher cultivation of form which he aimed at is only very seldom to be traced.

And now we must first consider that painter who is usually (though too exclusively) looked upon as the founder of modern Italian painting — we mean *Giovanni*, of the family of the *Cimabui*, who, according to Vasari, was born in the year 1240, and appears to have died soon after 1300. Among the works ascribed with the greatest probability to him are two large Madonnas in Florence. The earlier one, formerly in S. Trinità, and now preserved in the Academy



MADONNA ENTHRONED: by Cimabue, in S. Maria Novella, Florence.

(with grand figures of prophets and patriarchs introduced in the lower part), is still closely allied to the Byzantine style.* The later picture is in S. Maria Novella in the south chapel of the transept; in this, angels are represented kneeling on each side of the Madonna; the frame of the picture is ornamented with small medallions, in which are introduced heads of saints. This work, though, on the whole, still following the Byzantine arrangement, already employs it with artist-like freedom; for the drawing is improved by the study of nature, and the execution, unlike the Byzantine manner, is modelled and round.† The infant Christ on the lap of the Madonna shows an approach to nature in action; the colouring is truer, the ornamentation in better taste. Some of the medallions also are successful; and only relatively admirable as this art may be, it contains the germ of Florentine greatness which was established in the person of *Giotto*. It is said that this picture, when finished, was carried from the house of the artist to the church with pomp and rejoicing.

Very similar in style to this work, and apparently by the same hand, is a colossal St. Peter enthroned, with two angels, in S. Simone in Florence, over a neglected altar in a dark passage between the church and sacristy.‡ The greater part of the large mosaic which adorns the chief tribune of the Duomo at Pisa, representing the Saviour, of colossal size, with John the Baptist and the Madonna beside him, was executed, according to authentic documents, by *Cimabue*, towards the close of his life. Here, however, in the figure of the Saviour, the artist seems to have been fettered by the prescribed types of the church, while in the figure of John the Baptist we already remark a more animated conception of the head and a more natural action.

The great talents of *Cimabue* are exhibited in fullest development in the large wall-paintings ascribed to him in

* An engraving is given in Riepenhausen's 'Geschichte der Malerei,' i. 6.

† Engravings in Riepenhausen, 'Gesch. der Mal.' i. 7; and D'Agincourt, 'Peinture,' pl. 108. Engravings of two of the medallions in 'Tüb. Kunstblatt,' 1821, No. 9.

‡ E. Förster, 'Beiträge zur neuern Kunstgesch.', p. 101.

the upper church of S. Francesco at Assisi. The decoration of this church must be regarded as one of the most important circumstances in the historical development of modern painting. "Here lies concealed," in Crowe and Cavalcaselle's words, "the history of Florentine art." The church itself is remarkable in the history of architecture, having been erected by foreign artists in the first half of the thirteenth century, in the Gothic style then foreign to Italy. The disposition of the building is also peculiar, two churches of almost equal extent being built one over the other; the lower building formed originally the sepulchral church of St. Francis, the upper one alone was dedicated to the usual religious service of the monastery. The great veneration in which this church was held is evinced by the amount of paintings with which the walls were covered in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The new Order here appears in a remarkable way as the promoting cause of the new style of painting. So early even as during the lifetime of St. Francis (who died 1226), one of his monks, the *Jacobus* above mentioned, had executed the mosaics of the choir tribune in S. Giovanni, in Florence; and in Assisi, for at least two generations, all the artists which the vicinity afforded were employed by the monks to adorn this their holy of holies. First, Greek masters, and after them, as is supposed, *Giunto da Pisa*, executed considerable works, of which, however, but little is now recognisable. *Cimabue* was summoned to continue the series; what he may have painted in the under church no longer exists; his works, too, in the choir and transept of the upper church are almost wholly obliterated. Many important specimens are, however, still preserved.*

To these belong the paintings ascribed to him on the vaulted roof of the nave. The roof consists of five chief quadrangular compartments, of which the first, third, and fifth are ornamented with figures, the second and fourth with gold

* The reasons given by Rumohr ('Ital. Forsch.' ii. 30) to prove that the two Madonnas before mentioned are by the hand of *Cimabue*, appear to be equally applicable to these paintings at Assisi. See Kugler, 'Tüb. Kunstblatt,' 1827, Nos. 28, 34, 35, 38, 39, 40.

stars on a blue ground. The first compartment, over the choir, contains the four Evangelists, which are however almost obliterated. In the triangular spaces of the third compartment, separated from each other by the ribs of the arch are medallions with figures of Christ, the Madonna, John the Baptist, and St. Francis. The character of these paintings is almost the same as in the above-mentioned altar-pictures; the countenance of the Virgin especially has a close affinity to the Madonna of S. Maria Novella. The ornaments which surround these medallions are, however, more interesting than the medallions themselves. In the lower corners of the triangles are represented naked genii, bearing tasteful vases on their heads; out of these grow rich foliage and flowers, with other genii among them, who pluck the fruits or lurk in the calyxes of the flowers. In the free movements of these figures, and in the successful attempt (for such, as a first effort, it must be regarded,) to express the modelling of the naked form, we recognise a decided and not unsatisfactory approach to the antique. One of the figures has, in its attitude, a striking resemblance to the genii of classic art as we find them commonly represented, standing with a torch reversed on the sides of sarcophagi; in the fifth compartment are the four great Doctors of the Church: in these, however, some investigators recognise not the hand of *Cimabue* himself, but that of an imitator.

Still more important are the paintings with which *Cimabue*, or other Tuscan painters partaking of his aim, adorned the upper part of the walls of the nave in a line with the windows. On the left, looking from the choir, is represented the history of the Creation and of the Patriarchs of the Old Testament; on the right the Birth and Passion of Christ. Of the works still existing, the best are, Joseph with his Brethren, the Marriage at Cana, the Betrayal of Christ, and the Descent from the Cross. These also still show the Byzantine school; at the same time its stiff, lifeless, and repulsive peculiarities are in some degree avoided; the artist has succeeded in expressing the action of a single passing moment in the grouping of the masses, and in the attitudes and gestures of the individual figures.

It is true we recognise in these works—as in the cupola paintings in the baptistery at Parma—the struggle to give to traditional form the expression of a living intention; in this instance, however, the impassioned movement of the figures is happily tempered by an air of grandeur and dignity. But it is only to a certain extent that the artist has succeeded in carrying out this principle of animation; it is, in fact, only attained so far as it is necessary to the intelligible representation of a given event; all that belongs to a closer imitation of Nature in her individual peculiarities, all that belongs to the conception of characteristic or graceful action, is still wanting. The type of the heads is alike throughout, the expression always conventional. Yet, notwithstanding all these defects, these works must be regarded as having been mainly instrumental in opening a new path to the free exercise of art.

The lower part of the walls of the nave, under the windows, contains in twenty-eight compartments events from the life of the Saint to whom the church is dedicated. They are executed by different hands, and begin, in general composition, to exhibit the style of the fourteenth century. From the frequent recurrence of Byzantine characteristics, it appears, however, probable that they were executed by scholars of *Cimabue*. We shall return to the most important.*

A general affinity with the style and aim of *Cimabue* is observable in some mosaics executed by contemporary artists—for example, in the mosaics of the tribunes of S. John Lateran and S. Maria Maggiore in Rome, both inscribed with the name *Jacobus Toriti*, and executed necessarily between the years 1287 and 1292. The first, on which the Franciscan monk *Jacobus de Camerino* assisted, is simpler in arrangement, and less developed in form. Six saints and apostles, with whom appear the figures of St. Francis and St. Anthony of Padua on a smaller scale, and in a bending position (emblematic of their recent canonisation), are ad-

* Compare Kugler, 'Tüb. Kunstbl.', 1827, No. 42. Rumohr ('Ital. Forsch.' ii. 67) ascribes almost the whole of these works to *Parri Spinello*, a master of the fifteenth century.



Mosaic of the Tribune of St. John Lateran, Rome, executed by Jacobus Toriti, 1287—92.



Mosaics of the Tribune of S. Maria Maggiore, Rome, executed about 1300.

vancing, with their hands raised in adoration, towards a cross in the centre. Over this, in a glory of angels, is seen the head of Christ, as preserved from the older tribune. Below are the River Jordan and the four rivers of Paradise, and on the wall of the tribune Christ with the Apostles, on a smaller scale. The ground is gold. Here, though not traceable in the details of the forms, we recognise in the animated and inspired action a revival of that poetic intention which gives such grandeur to the mosaics of the fifth century. In every respect, however, the mosaics of S. Maria Maggiore, executed by *Jacobus Toriti*, stand the highest, being surpassed by no contemporary work in dignity, grace, and decorative beauty of arrangement. In a blue gold-starred circle is seen Christ enthroned with the Virgin : on each side are adoring angels, kneeling and flying, on a gold ground, with St. Peter and St. Paul, the two St. Johns, St. Francis and St. Anthony (the same in size and position as before), advancing devoutly along. The upper part is filled with graceful vine-branches, with symbolical animals among them. Below is the Jordan again, with small river-gods, boats, and figures of men and animals. Further below are four scenes from the life of Christ in animated arrangement. The group in the circle, Christ enthroned with the Virgin, is especially fine : while the Saviour places the crown on his mother's head, she lifts up her hands with the expression both of adoration and of modest remonstrance. The forms are very pure and noble ; the execution careful, and very different from the Roman mosaics of the twelfth century. More decidedly still do we trace the new style in the mosaics by *Giovanni Cosmato* in the recesses of two monuments in S. Maria sopra Minerva, and in S. Maria Maggiore in Rome. To the same time (about 1300) belong the mosaics on the upper part of the façade of the last-named church (now inserted in the loggia), in which, in two rows, enframed in architectural decorations, is Christ in the act of benediction, with several saints above, and the legend of the founding of the church below. Both well-arranged compositions. An inscription gives the name of the otherwise unknown master, "*Philippus Rusutti*." This

work was formerly ascribed to the Florentine mosaicist *Gaddo Gaddi* (died 1312), by whom certain subjects in the dome of the baptistery at Florence, an Assumption of the Virgin in the cathedral at Pisa, and a Coronation of the Virgin in the inner lunette of the chief portal of the cathedral at Florence, still exist. These last mosaics combine the most careful Byzantine treatment (for instance, delicate high lights in gold) with the fine and dignified conception of *Cimabue*, who was allied in friendship with the artist. On the other hand, the mosaics of the choir tribune of S. Miniato al Monte, above Florence (A. D. 1297, if the inscription to that purport be rightly interpreted), show that there were painters living in the vicinity of *Cimabue* who adhered strictly to the Byzantine style, and in no way advanced beyond it. Here we see the person of Christ, conceived in the most morose Byzantine type, enthroned upon a green meadow, between the signs of the four Evangelists; on the left, with outstretched hands, stands the Virgin—not without a certain rigid grace—and on the right St. Miniato, who is presenting a crown to the Saviour. The execution is very careful, the gold hatchings of the stiff draperies of the utmost delicacy. The animals alone, namely, the numerous birds dispersed in the meadow, depart from the old type, and show a truth of nature which is very remarkable for the period.

. As one who, late in the thirteenth century, still adhered unswervingly to the most decrepid Byzantine types, may be mentioned *Margheritone da Arezzo*, by whom a signed picture of an almost calligraphic kind exists in the National Gallery. He is believed to have died in 1313. He was employed by Pope Urban IV. (died 1265) to decorate the portico of the ancient Basilica of S. Peter at Rome. He is only worthy of note here as being identified by more than one signed specimen.

The name of *Mentano da Arezzo* may be added to the foregoing. He is recorded to have painted in Naples from 1305 to 1306, and was the author of an altar-piece, famous for a legend of the Madonna's head at the monastery of Monte Vergine, near Avellino. Other nameless remains of pictures in Naples may possibly be by him.

Another great master cotemporary with *Cimabue*, and, in his surviving authentic works, attaining a step beyond him, can only be adverted to here. Further details of his art and life will be found heading the Sienese school. This was *Duccio di Buoninsegna*—a name of the highest importance in the revival of art. In power of expression, in the telling of the tale, in the employment of the highest traditional forms, and in the spirit and freshness with which he disengaged himself from them, no one stands above *Duccio*. He has left, however, no large works to contend for the palm with the great artist who went before him, and with the greater one (*Giotto*) who followed after. *Duccio's* fame may be said to rest entirely on a small series of works, of which we shall give specimens at the proper place.

How far the Tuscan influence of the thirteenth century extended to the rest of Italy it is impossible now to determine. It is uncertain, for example, whether the Neapolitan school owed its emancipation from the Byzantine style, which we mentioned before, entirely to its own native merits and efforts. An artist, by name *Tommaso degli Stefani*, who is supposed to have lived from 1230 to 1310, and is generally put upon a level with *Cimabue*, is to all intents lost to us; his only known works, the wall-paintings of the Passion in the Cappella Minutoli, in the cathedral of Naples, having undergone such overpaintings and general ill-treatment, that the utmost we can affirm of them is that their author was no Byzantine. A better preserved work, the mosaics of a small recess in S. Restituta (the old cathedral) at Naples, which represents the Virgin enthroned between St. Januarius and another saint, and is supposed to have been completed about 1300, displays that similar union of freer and more dignified forms with delicate Byzantine execution, which we see in certain Tuscan works, though otherwise it gives us no ground for supposing a closer connection with them. Naples, at that time, was under the dominion of the House of Anjou, which is known to have encouraged painting, and was perhaps even the means of bringing the influence of French art to bear upon the Neapolitan. A French manuscript, 'The Tristan,' probably executed for that court towards the close of the

thirteenth century, and decorated by some Italian hand with numerous miniatures (now in the Royal Library at Paris), is remarkable for delicacy of execution, for a noble type of heads, for slender proportion and clever arrangement. Delicate and individual traits of expression are also not wanting.* The horses especially are, for that period, singularly noble in form, while those in the most important German miniatures of the time, for instance in the Momessian Codex, are proportionably ill-formed and clumsy. As we are not acquainted with the date of Neapolitan painting under the last of the Hohenstaufen, it remains to be determined how much of its merits belongs to a purely native development.

* Waagen, 'Kunst und Künstler in Paris,' p. 315.



BOOK III.

SECOND STAGE OF DEVELOPMENT.

MASTERS OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY AND THEIR FOLLOWERS.

INTRODUCTION.

BETWEEN the first enfranchisement of art from Byzantine trammels, and its full development, there is little wonder that two centuries should have transpired. When the artist ceased servilely to repeat traditional forms, his chief aim became the intelligible expression of the *theme** he had to treat, not the manifestation of his own individual mind. If, in some instances, for example in the baptistery of Parma, an impassioned feeling has been represented, it may, when not derived from tradition, be pronounced to have proceeded rather from external causes of excitement peculiar to the

* The word *theme* (Gegenstand) is preferred in this instance to the more obvious term *subject*, for reasons which it may be as well to state, for, though they relate to a distinction which is familiar to many, they may serve to throw some light on the views of the author which follow. In considering the productions of human genius, the Germans always carefully distinguish between the objects or materials on which the mind works, and the manifestation of the individual mind in treating them. The general term *object*, for the first, would be intelligible enough in our language; on the other hand, the word *subject*, which the Germans restrict to the *observer*, to the *individual*, is less appropriate in English without some explanation. In the German sense the *subject* is the human being, the object all that is without him. When the tone or tendencies of the individual mind very perceptibly modify the nature of the materials with which it has to deal, this is called a subjective mode of conception or treatment. When, on the other hand, the character of the individual is comparatively passive, and that of the *object* chiefly apparent, this is called an objective mode. Hence, whenever this distinction is dwelt on, and whenever the adoption of this terminology is unavoidable, it is obvious that the word *subject* in its usual English meaning (as for instance in speaking of the subject of a picture) requires to be carefully avoided. Where, however, the distinction alluded to is not immediately prominent, the word is employed in this translation in the usual sense.—C. L. E.

period, than from any inly-felt necessity to express his own character and feelings through the medium of the incident represented.

It appears at first sight that such a distinction between the theme itself and the manifestation of the individual mind in treating it is inadmissible—that the repose of a work of art would be destroyed by such a disunion; and such in fact is the case: but out of this disunion a new and closer alliance was to arise.

This separation and union have their foundation in the very essence of Christianity, which recognises no independent value in the outer world and its phenomena.

In the first exercise of art among the Christians, no attempt was made to express what we now feel to be the exact truth. The forms then assumed were for long merely symbolical. But in the further development of Art, an arbitrary symbolization was no longer sufficient: the representation itself was required to be at once symbol and meaning.

For this purpose it became necessary that the creating artist should appear more definitely in his own individual character. It was from his *consciousness* only that this relation between the earthly form and the unearthly spirit could be made evident; only when the representation was the result of original conception could the spiritual meaning be freely expressed.

Thus the perfection of religious art was only to be attained by a due combination of the subjective and objective power: the subjective revealing the artist's individual character; the objective his appropriation of external forms. And here, for many reasons, it was natural as well as necessary that the subjective tendency should take at first the lead. This new aim appears now united with a style of representation, the intellectual direction and order of which correspond strikingly with that of Northern art, and which, on that account, may be denominated Gothic. Certain indications even show that the North (where this style was developed half a century earlier) exercised influence upon the development of the same in Italy. This may be concluded from

Italian sculpture, which, somewhat sooner than painting, accepted the Gothic principle of form. Another means of influence was also, as we have suggested, contributed by the circumstance of Naples being governed by a noble French house. Regarded, however, in a broader light, we may consider this metamorphosis in style as one of native origin, founded on the same causes which led to it in the North, and followed by analogous results. In this also we find the consummation of the purely mediæval artistic life, and of the Gothic spirit generally speaking. Those essential features in which the Italian Gothic and the Northern Gothic style correspond, are less of an outward and material than of a moral nature. They are based upon a mode of conception which, disregarding the accidental, kept only the abstract and strictly essential in view; that mode of conception, in short, which is generally characteristic of the feeling of the period. This is why, in some instances, *Giotto* and *Wilhelm of Cologne* are seen to approach closely together; though, in other respects, the two schools are as widely sundered; one reason for which may be traced in the better condition of wall space possessed by the Italian races.

We now consider the next succeeding period of modern art, in which the subjective mode of conception prevails. Tuscany, that portion of Italy to which the greatest names of the preceding period had belonged, still maintains the first place during this new period.

Two principal tendencies, or schools, may be now distinguished. The centre of the one was Florence, of the other, Siena. The difference between the two may be thus defined. The Florentines and the artists who were influenced by them evince a peculiar quickness and vigour of thought. They throw themselves with a lively consciousness into the various and changeful scenes of life, and express the relation between the earthly and spiritual—between the objects of sight and those beyond it—in representations of a richly poetical and allegorical nature. The Siënese school, on the other hand, evince rather a depth of feeling which does not require that richness of form, but, on the contrary, adheres (as

far as the principle of Gothic art prevails) more to traditional forms, while it animates them with a genial warmth. The distinctive feature with the Florentines is their richness of thought and composition, and the aim at reality of character: the distinctive feature with the Sienes is the intense and heartfelt grace of their single figures. It must, however, be borne in mind that this line of separation is *decidedly* visible in a few cases only, that it is frequently modified by external circumstances, and that each of the tendencies in question exercises a reciprocal influence on the other.

CHAPTER I.

TUSCAN SCHOOLS—GIOTTO AND HIS FOLLOWERS.

GIOTTO.

At the head of the didactic or allegorical style stands *Giotto*,* the son of one Bondone, a poor labourer. He was born at Vespignano, near Florence, in 1276, and died at Florence in

* The great revolution which *Giotto* effected, and the long-enduring influence of his example, have been recorded by every historian of art. Without any disposition to question his claims to fame, the only points on which these historians are not quite in accordance, are the definition of his style, and the nature and extent of the innovations he introduced. The allegorical tendency on which the author lays so much stress, remarkable as it is, is far from being an essential characteristic of *Giotto*, but might rather be traced to the accidental influence of his friendship with Dante, and to the spirit of the age. It may be observed generally that the habitual employment of allegory can only in strictness be said to characterise an epoch, not an individual; for a system of conventional personification must of necessity be the gradual result of a general understanding and common education. The formative arts which are immediately intelligible (inasmuch as they are imitative) would be the last to abandon this privilege for arbitrary forms, if those forms had not in some sort supplied the place of nature. To come to those qualities which appear to have been essentially original in *Giotto*, we observe that his invention is mainly distinguished from the earlier productions by the introduction of natural incidents and expressions, by an almost modern¹ richness and depth of

¹ "The *modern manner*" is Vasari's term for the perfection of the art in the hands of Raphael, Titian, &c.

1336. He was originally a shepherd boy, in which condition, it is said, he was discovered by Cimabue drawing a sheep upon a slab of stone. Struck with the boy, then ten years of age, *Cimabue* took him to Florence, and gave him instruction in the arts. All traces of his industry under this great teacher have perished, but it may be safely assumed that he laboured as a youth as well as in early manhood on the walls of that grand sanctuary of piety and art which arose after the death of St. Francis. At Assisi, therefore, in the celebrated church of S. Francesco—the cradle of Florentine art—and surrounded by the rudimental efforts of his predecessors, the young *Giotto* may be said to have worked out his apprenticeship as a painter. It is here, among the frescoes of the lower series of the upper church, illustrating the life of St. Francis, that his hand is traced by the internal evidence of its dawning superiority. Of the frescoes now ascribed to him may be mentioned the first in order—a man throwing his cloak on the ground for the Saint to tread on—with several on the opposite side; viz., the death of the dissolute Lord of Celano—the dead body of St. Francis on his pallet lamented by his brethren, while angels convey his soul to Heaven—the incredulity of Girolamo, a doctor of Assisi, who thrusts his hand into the wound in the Saint's side—S. Chiara, the sister of the Saint, with her nuns, embracing the body as it rests at S. Damiano on the way to Assisi—Pope Gregory IX. receiving in his sleep from the hands of St. Francis a flask

composition, by the dramatic interest of his groups, and by a general contempt for the formal and servile style of his predecessors. This last circumstance is partly to be explained (as Rumohr sufficiently proves in an inquiry into the personal character of *Giotto*, 'Ital. Forsch.' ii. p. 55) by a total absence of the superstitious enthusiasm of the time.

The minor peculiarities are in like manner all diametrically opposed to the preceding practice. The "spectral stare" of the early painters is changed to half-closed eyes, unnaturally long in shape, the dark colour of the Byzantines to a delicate and even pale carnation. It is unnecessary to anticipate the author's just remarks on other particulars.

The pale colour of *Giotto* was the most unfortunate of his innovations, for it was adopted by the Florentines for more than a century after him. Leon Battista Alberti ('Della Pittura e della Statua,' lib. ii.) even in the fifteenth century, appears to have regretted the prevalence of this taste, for he remarks that it would be well for Art if white paint were dearer than gems.—C. L. E.

containing blood from the wound in his side. In the subject of the Saint healing a wounded man, the action of the Doctor about to leave the apartment, showing that there is no hope, is significant of *Giotto's* dramatic power; and lastly, St. Francis restoring to life a lady who had died before making confession.*

But *Giotto's* more mature works, known as his by historical as well as by internal evidence, are those which adorn the lower church of Assisi. These consist of four triangular compartments in the groined roof above the high altar (underneath which lie the remains of the saint), representing the three vows of the order, Poverty, Chastity, and Obedience, and the glorification of St. Francis. In the first of these our Lord is seen uniting St. Francis in marriage to Poverty (see woodcut). Here, the description by Dante, *Giotto's* cotemporary and friend, is traceable, who thus speaks of the Saint.

“Che per tal donna giovinetto in guerra
 Del padre corse, a cui, com' alla morte,
 La porta del piacer nessun disserra :
 E dinanzi alla sua spirital corte,
Et coram patre le si fece unito,
 Poscia di dî in dî l' amò più forte.
 Questa, privata del primo marito,
 Mille e cent' anni e più, dispetta e scura
 Fino a costui si stette senza invito :
 * * * * *
 Ma perch' io non proceda troppo chiuso;
 Francescò e Povertà per questi amanti
 Prendi oramai nel mio parlar diffuso.
 La loro concordia, e i lor lieti sembianti
 Amore e maraviglia, e dolce sguardo
 Faceano esser cagion de' pensier santi.” †

* Most of these frescoes here named are engraved in Ottley's 'Early Florentine School.'

† “A dame, to whom none openeth pleasure's gate
 More than to death, was, 'gainst his father's will,
 His stripling choice : and he did make her his,
 Before the spiritual court, by nuptial bonds,
 And in his father's sight : from day to day,
 Then loved her more devoutly. She, bereav'd
 Of her first husband, slighted and obscure,
 Thousand and hundred years and more, remain'd
 Without a single suitor, till he came.

* * * * *

But not to deal
 Thus closely with thee longer, take at large



ST FRANCIS WEDDED TO POVERTY : by Giotto, in the Lower Church of S. Francesco, Assisi.



This allegory has been copied, with some additional embellishment, by the painter. Poverty appears as a woman, whom Christ gives in marriage to St. Francis; she stands amongst thorns; in the foreground are two boys mocking her; on each side stand groups of angels as witnesses of the holy union. On the left, conducted by an angel, is a youth, who gives his garment to a poor man, after the example of the Saint: on the right stand the rich and the great, who are invited by an angel to approach, but who, holding, one a falcon on his wrist, the others bags of money in their hands, turn scornfully away.* The vow of Chastity is illustrated by a young female figure seated in a strong fortress, with angels doing her homage. Below are groups consisting on one side of St. Francis welcoming three candidates for admission—a Monk, a Nun, and a Lay Brother. In the centre is a youthful figure receiving baptism. On the other side is the Angel of Penitence driving away demons.

The representation of Obedience is not so clear. The Angel of Obedience is seated within a temple, with the Angel 'Prudentia' with a face looking backwards as well as forwards on one side, and the Angel 'Humilitas' on the other. In front is a centaur animal with the tail of a lion, and the hind-feet of a dog. On each side are groups of angels, and above the temple is St. Francis standing, with the hands of the Father shedding effulgence upon him, and an angel on each side holding the rules of the Order.

The lovers' titles—Poverty and Francis.
 Their concord and glad looks, wonder and love,
 And sweet regard, gave birth to holy thoughts."

Cary's Translation.

* *Giotto's* own ideas of poverty were more adapted to the world in which he lived. See his canzone, quoted by Rumohr, '*Italianische Forschungen*,' vol. ii. p. 51, in which he dwells with better sense than metre on the evils entailed by poverty. We give a few lines from it:—

"Di guella Povertà ch' è contro a voglia
 Non è da dubitar, che tuttavia
 Che di pecchare è via,
 Facendo spesso a' giudici far fallo
 E d' onor donna e damigella spoglia,
 E fa far furto, forza e villania
 E spesso usar bugia,
 E ciascun priva d' onorato stallo."

In the fourth compartment St. Francis is seen enthroned in glory (see woodcut), standing in a deacon's robe, enriched with gold,* surrounded with saints and angels dancing and singing, and playing on musical instruments.†

The hand of *Giotto* is also recognised in the frescoes in the southern transept of the lower church in the series illustrating the life of our Lord, and also in those of the life of St. Francis. Among the former the Salutation and the Visitation are foremost in merit. Among the others the restoration to life of a boy of the Spini family by St. Francis, though mutilated to make room for an orchestra, is full of expression.

Next in sequence, judging according to his progress in art, are the works he executed in Rome, as it is believed, between 1298 and 1300. Cardinal Stefaneschi, nephew of Boniface VIII., is known to have been his patron there. The principal record of *Giotto's* labours is a mosaic executed for the ancient basilica of St. Peter, and now preserved in the portico of the modern church, called the Navicella, which *Giotto* is believed to have designed. This has been so extensively injured and repaired that it would be difficult to form any critical estimate of its author. A ship, in a rough sea, containing eleven of the Apostles, occupies the principal part of the scene. In front is St. Peter on the waves with our Lord extending his hand to him. Opposite, on dry land, is a figure fishing with rod and line. Four bust-length figures of bearded Fathers are seen in the sky with actions of sympathy for those in the ship; below them on each side are the winds in form of a demon. In the lower corner, near Christ, is seen the mitred head of Cardinal Stefaneschi, with hands clasped in prayer (see woodcut).

A more satisfactory example of *Giotto* consists of a series of three panels, painted on each side with sacred subjects—believed to have originally formed part of a Ciborium which

* He had remained a deacon from a feeling of humility, and had never been consecrated as a priest.

† The best engravings of these four subjects are those in Fea's work, 'Descrizione della Basilica di S. Francesco d' Assisi, Rome,' 1820. A fuller description of the subjects is given under the signature W. in the 'Tübinger Kunstblatt,' 1821, Nos. 44, 45.



ST. FRANCIS IN GLOBY; by Giotto, on the Vault of the Lower Church of S. Francesco, Assisi.



THE NAVICELLA, a mosaic, believed to be from a design by Giotto, in the Vestibule of St. Peter's, Rome



Portrait of DANTE, by Giotto, in the Bargello, Florence

he executed for Cardinal Stefaneschi. These panels are preserved in the Sacristy of the Canons of St. Peter's.

No other works by the master have survived in Rome except the fragment of a much-injured fresco in St. John Lateran, representing Pope Boniface VIII., in full pontificals announcing the opening of the Jubilee. This fresco confirms the belief that *Giotto* remained in Rome until 1300, the year of the proclamation of the Jubilee. It was on this occasion, when Dante visited the eternal city, that the friendship between himself and the painter was formed.*

The hand and mind of *Giotto* are next traced in Florence, in the Chapel of the Bargello, or palace of the Podestà. This chapel, having undergone many vicissitudes—having been divided into two stories—the upper one used as a prison, the lower as a magazine—the frescoes covered with dirty whitewash—was at last rescued from its degraded plight, and the walls so far scraped as to reveal at all events a faint idea of the composition and spirit of *Giotto's* works.† These originally occupied the entire walls; one end of the chapel being filled by a fresco of the *Inferno*, the other by that of the *Paradiso*, the sides covered with incidents from the lives of the Magdalen, and of St. Mary Egyptiaca. A figure here and there remaining, of fine conception and expression, attests the beauties of art which have been for ever obliterated. In the “*Noli me tangere*”—a wreck in other respects—the head of the Magdalen is of the highest order of expression. But the chief interest and object of those instrumental in effecting the restoration of the chapel were the portraits of Dante, Brunetti Latini, Corso Donati, and

* Dante's well-known allusion to him in the ‘*Divina Commedia*’ (‘*Purgatorio*,’ xi. 94) runs thus:—

“Credette Cimabue nella pittura
Tener lo campo: ed ora ha Giotto il grido,
Sicchè la fama di colui oscura.”

Thus translated by Cary:—

“Cimabue thought
To lord it over painting's field; and now
The cry is Giotto's, and his name eclipsed.”

† This recovery, as far as it goes, was owing to the energy of three gentlemen—Mr. Seymour Kirkup, an Englishman long resident in Florence, Mr. Henry Wilde, from the United States, and Mr. Aubrey Bezzi—whose united efforts overcame the opposition of the authorities in July, 1840.

other cotemporaries of the painter, mentioned by Vasari as the first successful attempts at portraiture after the revival of art, and included in these frescoes. These have come to light in the lower portion of the Paradiso where a procession of citizens are seen following a crowned youth, believed to be intended for Charles of Valois. The portrait of Dante is here unmistakable; the heads are of strong character, and no better specimens exist of the painter's power of individuality. In addition to original ill-treatment, they suffered greatly by the removal of the whitewash, and further, are believed not to have gained by the partial repairs executed since. It is to be supposed that the date of these portraits is previous to the exile of the poet, therefore between 1300 and 1302. In the same order, on the left side of the window, is another procession, similarly grouped, and headed by three figures—the hindmost of which is supposed to be *Giotto* himself.

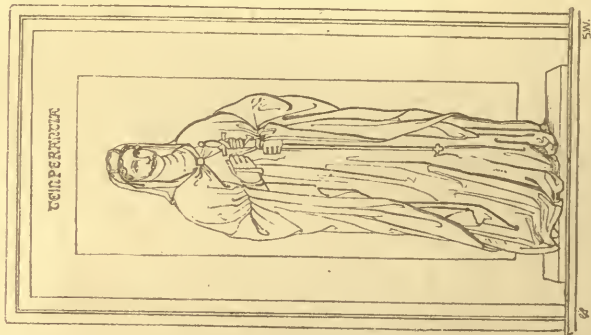
It now appears that *Giotto* was engaged by Pope Benedict XI. to proceed to Avignon, and execute works in the Papal Palace there; this engagement was defeated by the death of that Pontiff, and it seems probable that, on the failure of the plan, the painter repaired to the north of Italy. In 1303, the erection of the Arena Chapel, dedicated to the Madonna, was completed by Enrico Scrovegno, a rich citizen of Padua, who engaged the painter to adorn its walls.* It has even been believed that he assisted in the design of the building, which is singularly adapted to pictorial purposes. The history of the Madonna and of Christ are here rendered in three courses of frescoes, comprising thirty-eight subjects, which begin with Joachim's Offering and end with the Descent of the Holy Ghost.† The ground of the simply arched vault is blue, studded with gold stars, among which appear the heads of Christ, the Virgin, and the Prophets, while above the arch of the choir is the Saviour in a glory of angels. Combined with these sacred scenes and personages, are

* See 'Kunstblatt,' 1837, pp. 241, 354, 365, 377, E. Förster's essay 'Giotto,' and a review of the Marchese Selvatico's work 'Sulla Cappellina degli Scrovegni.'

† Many of these have been engraved by the Arundel Society.



Allegorical Figures of JUSTICE and PRUDENCE, by Giotto, in the Arena Chapel, Padua.



Allegorical Figures of FORTITUDE, TEMPERANCE, and INFIDELITY, by Giotto, in the Arena Chapel, Padua.

introduced fitting allusions to the moral state of man; the lower part of the side-walls containing, in medallions painted in chiaroscuro, allegorical figures of the virtues and vices—the virtues feminine and ideal, the vices masculine and individual—while the entrance-wall has a large representation of the Last Judgment. In these, as in the allegorical subjects, *Giotto* appears as a great innovator, a number of situations suggested by the Scriptures being here either expressed for the first time, or seen in a totally new form. He enriches the well-known subjects with numerous subordinate figures, thus making the picture more truthful or more intelligible. In that scene, for instance, where an angel is appearing to Joachim in a dream, he has introduced two shepherds on one side, who contemplate the vision with awe. Where the event is the Flight into Egypt, the Holy Family is accompanied by a serving-man and three other figures. At the Raising of Lazarus, also, the disciples behind the Saviour on the one side, and the astonished multitude on the other, form two choruses. In the picture of the Flagellation, the scourgers constitute a rich group, with the figure of a youthful scoffer kneeling in front, and the scribes on the right. This approach to reality sometimes assumes a character which oversteps the strict limits of the higher ecclesiastical style; as, for example, in the picture of St. Anna praying, where a servant-maid sits spinning in an adjoining room. But such extensions of the subject alone would hardly have furthered the designs of art had they not been accompanied by every endowment requisite for historical painting, namely, with the expression of the highest moral feeling, the power of giving animation not only to single portions, but to the whole composition, and an intuitive truthfulness of action. In these departments *Giotto* is both founder and completer of his school. Certain sacred occurrences have perhaps never been so happily expressed as by him, though in execution of details he is necessarily much behind-hand. The Murder of the Innocents combines with moderate action the expression of the deepest terror and sorrow in the women, and of the most relentless malice in the executioners. The Resurrection of Lazarus, also, considering the necessary

limits of the time and style, may be pronounced a perfect work. Martha and an aged saint are holding the still swathed-up body, while Mary has already cast herself at the Saviour's feet, who is in the act of pronouncing the words of life. The subject of the Entombment, also, has, in choice of motives, not been surpassed by any subsequent representation. The women seated on the ground, supporting the dead Saviour, are overwhelmed with grief, while in the St. John, with his arms raised and extended, the painter had preserved the antique gesture of sorrow. Other mourners form a fine group around.

The Last Judgment, in its customary place above the entrance-door, is conceived, as might be supposed, more in conformity with traditional treatment, and is inferior in execution. The upper part shows signs of *Giotto's* original mind in the procession of the Blessed. Among them are three figures seen in profile—the centre one, according to tradition, being the portrait of the painter. Enrico Scrovegno is also seen in purple dress and bonnet, kneeling before a group of three female figures, while a priest in white supports the model of the chapel. The lower part on the right side embodies those hideous images encouraged by the Romish church in the old 'Sacred Plays,' for which Dante is usually, but unjustly, supposed to be answerable.

Giotto's labours in Padua also extended to the great church of "Il Santo," where he adorned the chapter-house with incidents from the lives of St. Anthony of Padua, and of St. Francis. Portions of these have been destroyed by conflagrations, and the usual maltreatment and whitewash have obliterated what the devouring element spared. Parts of six figures in niches, supported on a painted cornice and separated by painted pilasters, dimly show the imperishable beauty of *Giotto's* forms. Two lunettes on the left of the entrance, are also partially discernible. The Annunciation, one of them, exhibits, in the Virgin's expression of surprise and terror, a new conception of the subject.

At Verona, also, according to Vasari, he is reported to have left works, but none survive to test the connoisseur.

The same may be said of Ferrara, where, Vasari states, he also laboured. At Ravenna, however, the student will find no surviving works, it is true, in the church of S. Francesco, but a ceiling in the first chapel to the left in S. Giovanni Evangelista, with the four Evangelists and the four Doctors of the church, bears evidence of the master's hand.

We now return to Florence, where the church of S. Croce furnishes a gallery of *Giotto's* works, equally fitted to excite admiration for his industry as well as power. No less than four chapels—those of the families of the Peruzzi, the Bardi, the Giugni, the Tosinchi, and the Spinelli were decorated by his hand. The frescoes in the old Peruzzi chapel (or sacristy) illustrating the lives of the Baptist and of St. John the Evangelist were for a time concealed from sight. Towards the end of the seventeenth century, they are mentioned by a writer. In the middle of the eighteenth century, they were no longer visible. It was in that interval, therefore, that they underwent the common ingratitude towards so much that was valuable in Italian art. In 1841, the first attempts made to rescue these works from oblivion discovered the Dance of the Daughter of Herodias and the Ascension of the Evangelist; but it was not till 1863 that the rest of the scenes were liberated. These works, however injured and defaced, are pronounced the master-pieces of *Giotto*, justifying the enthusiastic admiration of early writers, and so far lessening the repute of his followers, as showing how much more they owed to the great man than had been hitherto supposed. On the vaulting of the entrance-arch (of the Peruzzi chapel) are eight half-figures of prophets; on the ceiling the signs of the Evangelists; but the chief interest centres in the walls, one side being devoted to the Life of the Baptist, the other to that of John the Evangelist. In the first, the apparition of the angel to Zacharias engages our admiration. *Giotto* was seldom more classical in composition, or at the same time more true to the text of Scripture, than here. No subsequent art has surpassed the expression of Zacharias, or scarcely the form of the angel. The birth of the Baptist with Zacharias writing the infant's

name is also replete with beauties, among which may be particularised the grand antique pose of St. Elizabeth—the grace of the women at her bedside—and the attitude and drapery of the grave, dumb father.

The Dance of Herodias, though little more than outlines are left, unites, with all his grander qualities of arrangement, grouping and action, a greater nature and individuality of expression than he had before attained. Seldom, even in later times, have fitter action and features been rendered than those which characterise the viol player as he plies his art, and watches the dancing Salome.

Still finer are some of the scenes from the Life of the Evangelist—viz., the Miracle of the Resurrection of Drusiana and the Ascension of St. John; the group round the grave express individual varieties of wonder and surprise which few painters have attempted.

The Bardi chapel has also but recently been relieved from its veil of dirty whitewash. Here the nature of the subjects—Scenes from the Life of St. Francis—shows the prevalent enthusiasm for the Mendicant Order. *Giotto* found it a never-ending theme. These illustrations, which may be compared with those in the upper church at Assisi, occupy two of the walls in three courses of frescoes. Some of these are grievously damaged, and, what is synonymous, restored; but the intelligent observer of *Giotto's* works will soon perceive great beauties. The death-bed of the Saint still preserves its pre-eminence for perfection of arrangement and expression, even when compared with *Ghirlandajo's* grand fresco of the same scene painted at Florence a century and a half later.

The frescoes by *Giotto* on the walls of the Giugni (now Riccardi) and Spinelli Chapels are still hid from view; indeed, those in the Spinelli Chapel are more than hidden, for they have been covered by paintings by a modern hand.

The Coronation of the Virgin,* in the Baroncelli Chapel, by *Giotto*, may next be mentioned. It is a vast picture on

* Outlines, in D'Agincourt, pl. 114, Nos. 4 and 5. E. Förster, 'Beiträge,' pl. 4.

panel, with numerous attendant saints and angels. No early painter is seen to such advantage under the conditions of a tempera picture (and this has been much defaced), as on the greater scope of the prepared wall. Still, *Giotto's* characteristics will be found here as well as in the five figures of the lower compartment.

The Last Supper and other frescoes which fill the end wall of the old Refectory of S. Croce—now a carpet factory—are now assigned to *Giotto's* school,* and will be mentioned under *Taddeo Gaddi*.

It was for S. Croce also that *Giotto* executed the panels of the presses in the sacristy, preserved in the Academy at Florence. These present a series, originally of twenty-six pictures, combining the two great subjects which respectively enlisted his art—the Life of Christ and the Life of St. Francis.† That of the Saint is represented in some senses in typical reference to that of our Lord—a comparison accounted for by the enthusiastic admiration in which St. Francis was then held, being looked upon as the second angel of the Revelation.

We give the two series in their parallel arrangement, although the reciprocal relation is not equally evident in all.‡

* Rumohr, 'Ital. Forsch.' ii. 70. Compare F. Förster, in the (Berlin) 'Museum,' 1833, No. 15, p. 117; and E. Förster, 'Beiträge, etc.', p. 137 note. The Last Supper is engraved by Lasinio and by Ruscheweyh.

† Kühbeil, 'Studien nach altflorentinischen Meistern,' v. x.; Riepenhausen, 'Geschichte der Malerei,' vol. ii. pl. 3–8.

‡ The author appears to have taken his description of these subjects from Richa's 'Notizie istoriche delle Chiese Fiorentine.' No. 13 in the first series, and Nos. 6, 9, and 13 in the second, are the four that have disappeared. As the original number was only twenty-six, it is probable that the two in the Berlin Museum are the two Nos. 13; the subject of one of these being the Descent of the Holy Ghost. The other is a miracle wrought by St. Francis after his death: there can be little doubt that it was the original companion, and, if so, Richa described the subject incorrectly; this is the more probable, as the second No. 11, which is still at Florence, is also incorrectly described.

The remote connection between the types and antitypes in subjects taken from the Old and New Testament, has been already adverted to. In the present extraordinary parallel the allusions are still more distant; an example or two may suffice.

1. The Visitation. In an edition of the *Biblia Pauperum*, in which this subject occurs (the figures in these books, it is to be remembered, are repeated from illuminated medieval MSS.), the parallel subjects are

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| 1. The Visitation. | 1. St. Francis takes off his clothes in the presence of the bishop, and returns them to his father. |
| 2. The Birth of Christ. | 2. The infant Christ appears to the Saint on Christmas-eve. |
| 3. The Adoration of the Kings. | 3. St. Francis supports the falling building of the Lateran, according to a dream of the pope. |
| 4. The Circumcision. | 4. St. Francis kneels before the pope, to whom he presents the rules of his Order. |
| 5. The Dispute with the Doctors. | 5. St. Francis defends the rules. |
| 6. The Baptism. | 6. St. Francis preaching before the Sultan. |
| 7. The Transfiguration. | 7. St. Francis carried up in a chariot of fire. |
| 8. The Last Supper. | 8. St. Francis receiving the Stigmata. |
| 9. The Crucifixion. | 9. The Saint restores a man to life. |
| 10. The Resurrection. | 10. St. Francis appears to the assembled brethren. |
| 11. The appearance of Christ to the Marys. | 11. A similar representation, in which, however, the monks fall prostrate with astonishment. |
| 12. The Incredulity of Thomas. | 12. The body of the Saint being placed on a bier, a pious disciple examines the Stigmata. |
| 13. The Descent of the Holy Ghost. | 13. One of the followers of the saint hangs himself like a second Judas. |

Of these twenty-six panels, twenty only are in the Florence Academy, two in the Berlin Museum, and four in private hands.

The Crucifixes painted by *Giotto* display another and not less characteristic form of his art. Such works were the touchstone of the painter in the fourteenth century. Two

Moses visited by Jethro, and the Levite visiting his father-in-law. St. Francis visits his spiritual father, who receives him with joy, and hails the promise of his second birth.

3. The Magi (kings), instructed by a sign, pay homage to one in lowly state, who, as they believed, was to restore the supremacy of his nation. The pope, a sovereign, instructed by a dream, respects the claims of one in humble condition who was destined to support the declining authority of the Church.

6. The Redeemer receives baptism from John. St. Francis seeks martyrdom (called the baptism of blood) at the hands of the Sultan. That he did not obtain this, his avowed object, was owing to no want of zeal or even provocation on his part. (See the Life of the Saint by S. Bonaventura.)
—C. L. E.

Crucifixes still existing—the one in S. Marco, the other in the Gondi-Dini Chapel of the church of the Ognissanti, both at Florence—are identified by Signor Cavalcaselle as *Giotto's*. It is needful to know something of the abject and degraded form given to this subject in the latter Byzantine school, to perceive the extent to which *Giotto* improved on the prevalent type. The figure of our Lord is comparatively youthful and erect, conveying the expression of suffering without (also comparatively) contortion. He has adhered to the mediæval type of the Pelican feeding her young, above the Saviour's head; and the Virgin and St. John on right and left, at the extremity of the transverse beam of the cross. The skull that typifies Calvary is also seen below. In the Gondi-Dini Crucifix, a medallion figure of the youthful Saviour in the act of blessing (a relic of the earlier Byzantine type) is substituted for the Pelican.

The frescoes by *Giotto* formerly in the church of the Carmine at Florence—the Life of the Baptist—were destroyed by fire in 1771. They had been principally engraved by Thomas Patch, who also preserved fragments of the frescoes after the fire. Two heads of disciples belonging to the Entombment of the Baptist made their way into Mr. Rogers' collection, and thence into the National Gallery. These frescoes are supposed to have been executed about 1330.

It is an historical fact* that *Giotto* was invited by King Robert of Naples to practise his art in that city in 1330; and it has been usual to ascribe to his hand the frescoes of the Seven Sacraments in the church of the Incoronata at Naples. It hardly needed Signor Cavalcaselle's consummate knowledge of early Italian art to overturn this idea, as the style of these works differs as much from the great master as it is inferior to him. This internal evidence is further corroborated by the historical fact that the nuptials between Louis of Tarentum and Giovanna, Queen of Naples, represented in the Sacrament of Marriage, took place eleven years after *Giotto's* death, and that the building itself was not commenced until later still. One undoubted work by *Giotto*,

* See Crowe and Cavalcaselle, vol. i. p. 317.

however, exists at Naples, in what was formerly the old convent of S. Chiara.* Here, at the extremity of a hall formerly belonging to the convent, is a large fresco by *Giotto*, representing the Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes, in reference to the almsgiving attributes of the Franciscans of Naples. This is one of those grand and characteristic compositions which claim for the master the admiration of all ages, "combining the idea of charity with the majesty of religion; a sublime mixture of the heavenly and the lowly." No other works of the painter are believed to exist in Naples. Those in the Castel Nuovo and in the Castel dell' Uovo have perished with the walls that contained them. Count Gaetani (at Naples) has in his possession two injured panels of a Bishop and a Saint, which show their pictorial paternity, but no other relics of the master have been discovered. Returning from Naples, he executed frescoes in the Nunziata, at Gaeta, and also at Rimini: all have perished. Finally, he is found again at Florence, where, in 1334, he was appointed master of the works of S. Maria del Fiore (the Cathedral), and architect of the walls of Florence and of the cities within the confines of the state. While engaged in this office, he designed the beautiful Campanile and also the sculpture with which it is decorated, and which was executed by *Andrea Pisano*. In these later years he also visited Milan, by invitation of a Visconti, though the frequently devastated city affords no relic of his art. A Virgin and Child, in the Brera, bears the inscription of "Op. Magister Jocti de Flora." The two wings of this picture are in the Gallery at Bologna.

Another picture, with St. Francis receiving the Stigmata, painted for S. Francesco at Pisa, and similarly signed, is in the Louvre.

An Entombment of the Virgin, a wide picture, formerly in the collection of Mr. Davenport Bromley, is believed to be by the master, and may possibly be the work described by

* "If the visitor to Naples approaches the old convent of S. Chiara in the direction of the gate which opens towards the new church 'del Gesù,' he will find at No. 23 a furniture shop under the name of Francesco Titipaldi. This shop is part of a vast hall appertaining of old to the convent." Crowe and Cavalcaselle, vol. i. p. 323.

Vasari, and, in his time, in the church of the Ognissanti at Florence.

Another work by his hand, a half-figure of the Madonna, with small figures kneeling on each side, supported by their patron saints—signed 1334—is in the Treasury of the Cathedral at Florence.

Giotto died in 1336, leaving the façade of the Cathedral and the bell-tower incomplete. The façade had been carried up two-thirds of its destined height, and was adorned with sculpture from his designs, executed by the best hands. This façade was destroyed by a Vandal placed in authority, of the name of Ugnecone, in 1558.

If we now examine the style of *Giotto*, we remark, first, that the Byzantine manner is entirely abandoned. There appears a peculiar flexibility in the movements, which in some is carried even to an excess of elegance, and is particularly observable in the flowing and long-drawn folds of the drapery. This last peculiarity is characteristic of the whole period. It recurs continually as an established type, though modified by the peculiarities of the more eminent masters; and, as an architectural influence is everywhere visible in the measured forms of the severe style of drapery, we may place the above-mentioned treatment in close connection with Gothic architecture, to the character of which it corresponds universally, and with which it rose and declined. In his heads, *Giotto* frequently exhibits a peculiar and not very beautiful type; the eyes are generally long and narrow, and very close to each other. That sweetness and grace which, in *Duccio's* works, for example, appeared to announce the approaching development of the highest ideality of form, was not one of *Giotto's* attributes. He, on the contrary, led the spirit of art in another direction. In these newly-invented representations, founded on no ancient tradition, beauty was less his object than the expression of character. Here and there, however, we find very graceful heads in his pictures, and the whole composition is always beautifully disposed in its masses. Where the subject required, it is even treated in a peculiarly solemn, simple, and harmonious manner. For the first time since the decline

of ancient art, we observe a successful attempt at the regular disposal of the subject in the space allotted. This *Giotto* has combined with the utmost animation of the whole. The execution of the details is, it must be confessed, generally sketchy, and, as it were, suggestive: completeness was perhaps less essentially allied to his peculiar views as an artist. The vehicle he employed with his colours was more fluid than that hitherto used; it allowed a greater freedom of hand, and has also darkened but little with time.

It is impossible to over estimate the influence of *Giotto's* genius. He opened a fountain of Nature to the gifted generations who succeeded him in Italy, which permeated through the length and breadth of the land, spreading beauty and fertility in its course. At the same time there also followed, as in the nature of things, a stream of convention, in the shape of a multitude of now nameless Giottesque painters, which grew feeble and more lifeless till it expired. No Christian artist can perhaps be quoted who raised such a host of imitators, certainly none of whom even the names of his imitators have been so completely forgotten. Nor does painting only claim him as her reviver. The sculpture of the Renaissance may be said to be in great measure his creation. The feeble and mannered sculptors of Pisa partook more of the grotesque element. It was *Giotto's* designs for the bronze doors on the north side of the Baptistery at Florence, and for the subjects on the Campanile, executed by *Andrea Pisano*, which gave a fresh impulse to the art—an impulse which, springing from a painter, maintained with singular tenacity the picturesque character which is one broad distinction between Italian sculpture and the antique.* Those interested in the study of *Giotto* will find him nowhere more characteristically himself than in these designs. It would be interesting to trace how many of the motives admired in the works of later painters have descended from this great man. Such, for instance, as the pathetic action of the Virgin's extended hands in *Raphael's* Spasimo, was doubtless created by *Giotto*, though not, we

* See 'Essay on Basso-relievo,' First Series of 'Contributions to the Fine Arts,' by Sir C. L. Eastlake.

believe, discernible in any of his surviving works; but it appears among his followers—as in the fresco by *Giottino* in S. Francesco, Assisi, of St. Nicholas Restoring a Girl to her Parents, and in the lately uncovered fresco of the Procession to Calvary in the sacristy of S. Croce, Florence, and is far too fine to have originated with them.

The most important of *GiOTTO's* scholars was *Taddeo Gaddi* son of *Gaddo Gaddi*. He was born in the year 1300, and was held at the baptismal font by *GiOTTO*. When asked, in his latter days, to name the greatest painter in Italy, he is said to have exclaimed, "Art has fallen very low since the death of *GiOTTO*." It is certain that he was unequal to carry on the development of painting, though he contributed much facility of hand and grace of form. Viewed in a general sense, he may be said to have returned upon his master's steps, instead of taking up where he left off. He even reverted, in some instances, to the traditions in art which *GiOTTO's* genius had discarded. In the Journey of the Wise-men it is no longer a star, but a figure of the infant Saviour, which is seen to guide them. His figures are long and slender, showing that it was he who assisted *GiOTTO* in the southern transept of the Lower Church at Assisi. His extremities are short and coarse. Nevertheless he occasionally shows a purity and artlessness of expression in historical subjects which recall the feeling of *GiOTTO*, and appears in his best works as an interesting and accomplished painter.

His chief works in fresco occupy two walls of the Baroncelli Chapel in S. Croce at Florence, representing the Life of the Virgin.* On the lunette, on the side to the left of the entrance, is the Expulsion of Joachim from the Temple, a subject divided by fine architecture into seven parts.† Four compartments below contain the Meeting of Joachim and Anna, the Birth of the Virgin, her Dedication and Marriage. The wall opposite the entrance is occupied by the Annunciation, the Salutation, the Angel appearing to the Shepherds, and the Adoration of the Magi. The female figures

* See Lasinio's 'Old Florentine Masters,' pl. 14-17.

† See Ottley's 'Florentine School,' Tav. 26.

are strikingly graceful, and the general composition fine. In the Dedication, where the young Virgin is ascending the steps, a man in profile, with a long beard, looking at her, is stated by Vasari to represent *Gaddo Gaddi*, the painter's father, and near him, also bearded, is *Andrea Tafi*. In the Marriage, the group of women in attendance is beautiful, especially one figure with a diadem, next the Virgin. That these frescoes are by the hand of *Taddeo Gaddi* is a fact stated by Vasari, and deriving confirmation from the character of certain panel-pictures, which bear date and name. One of these is an altar-piece, now in the Berlin Museum. Another altar-piece, also inscribed and dated, is in the sacristy of St. Peter's at Megognano, near Poggibonsi.

Taddeo Gaddi may be also studied in a number of panels which adorned the presses of the sacristy at S. Croce. Two of these are in the Berlin Museum. The rest, consisting of two series, the one the History of the Saviour, the other, that of St. Francis, are in the Accademia at Florence. The History of St. Francis offers more or less repetitions of the frescoes by *Giotto* in the Upper Church at Assisi. The other series is believed to be entirely the work of *Taddeo*. The finest is the subject of the Transfiguration. In the altar-piece just mentioned, at Berlin, the legend of St. Nicholas of Bari is introduced above. In the subject of the Saint Restoring the Young Girl to her Family, the composition, with the pretty incident of the little dog recognising her, is mainly taken from a fresco by *Giottino*, so called, in S. Francesco at Assisi.

Taddeo's frescoes in S. Croce, were more numerous even than those by *Giotto*. Excepting the above-mentioned in the Baroncelli Chapel, they have all perished. There is one, however, remaining in what was formerly the Great Refectory—now a carpet factory—which is assigned, on internal evidence, to *Taddeo*. This is a Last Supper, hitherto attributed to *Giotto*,* under a large Crucifixion and Stem of Jesse. In this composition, *Taddeo* has retained or returned to the stereotyped form, with the Saviour and the Disciples

* See illustration in Mrs. Jameson's 'Sacred and Legendary Art,' vol. i. p. 261.

on one side, and Judas sitting alone in front. The four side pictures from the lives of St. Francis and St. Louis bear indications of *Taddeo's* less pleasing style.

The frescoes in the Rinuccini Chapel (S. Croce) generally given to him are of a later date, and believed to be the work of his friend *Giovanni da Milano*.

The fine picture of the Entombment* in the Accademia at Florence, hitherto given to *Taddeo*, is now suggested by MM. Crowe and Cavalcaselle to be by the hand of *Nicolo di Pietro Gerini*, the painter of several pictures at Pisa and Prato, who lived nearly a century later.

The manuscript of a *Speculum* in the Library of the Arsenal at Paris contains one hundred and sixty slightly coloured pen-drawings, which reveal the manner of *Taddeo*. They are remarkable for simplicity and dignity of composition and for graceful motives.†

Taddeo Gaddi, like many of his cotemporaries, was an architect as well as painter. The inundation of the Arno at Florence, in 1333, had ruined bridges and houses, in the rebuilding of which the painter, with others, was engaged. He furnished the plans of the Ponte Vecchio and of the Ponte della Trinità. According to Vasari, he was employed on the works of the Or San Michele, and he conducted those of the Campanile after *Giotto's* death.

The activity of *Taddeo* may be compared with that of his master, though far fewer of his works survive. His frescoes in the convent and cloisters of S. Spirito, the altar-pieces in S. Stefano del Ponte Vecchio, the frescoes and pictures in the church of the Serviti, the allegories in the tribunal of the Mercanzia, have all perished. He laboured also at Pisa, where a portion of a series executed in S. Francesco, in 1342, still remains. This is chiefly confined to the ceiling. He was afterwards called to Arrezzo and Casentino, and executed numerous works which have also disappeared. No records of his activity appear after 1366, about which time he is supposed to have died. He was buried in the cloisters of S. Croce.

* Engraved in Galleria delle Belle Arti, Florence.

† See Waagen's 'Kunst und Künstler in Paris,' p. 317.

Taddeo left a son called *Agnolo Gaddi* who, on his death-bed, he recommended to *Giovanni da Milano* for teaching in art, and to *Jacobo di Casentino* for guidance through the world. The year of *Agnolo's* birth is uncertain. He inherited his father's powers, and also developed excellences to which *Taddeo* had not attained. He had more originality, less grotesque convention; his colouring is bright and transparent, and with a higher sense of relief than that of *Taddeo*. His best and probably earliest works are in the chapel of the Holy Girdle (del Sacro Cingolo) in the cathedral of Prato. They represent the legends of the Virgin's Life, including the story of the Girdle, which, at her Assumption, was caught by St. Thomas. The expulsion of her father Joachim from the temple, the meeting of her parents, and the dedication, are well composed. The marriage of the Virgin is stated by MM. Crowe and Cavalcaselle to be one of the finest compositions of the Giottesque school. *Agnolo* still adhered, however, to the false and expressionless type of features.

His works next in importance and in preservation are the series of the History of the Cross,* given in eight frescoes, in

* The whole story is to be found in the Aurea Legenda. The following abridgment of this fable may serve as a specimen of the troubled sources from which the early painters derived their inspiration. Adam, being at the point of death, desires Seth to procure the oil of mercy (for the extreme unction) from the angels who guard Paradise. Seth, on applying for it, learns from the archangel Michael, that the oil can only be obtained after the lapse of ages (the period announced corresponding with the interval from the Fall to the Atonement). Seth receives from the angels, instead, a small branch of the tree of knowledge, and is told that, when it should bear fruit, Adam would recover. On his return he finds Adam dead, and plants the branch on his tomb. The sapling grew to a tree, which flourished till the time of Solomon, who had it hewn down for the purposes of building; the workmen, however, found such difficulty in adapting it, that it was thrown aside, and now served as a bridge over a lake. The Queen of Sheba (the type of the Gentiles), about to cross the bridge, sees in a vision the Saviour on the cross, and kneels in adoration. She informs Solomon that, when a certain One should be suspended on that tree, the fall of the Jewish nation would be near. Solomon, alarmed, buries the fatal wood deep in the earth; the same spot, in process of time, becomes, the pool of Bethesda. Immediately before the Crucifixion the tree rises, and floats on the surface of the water; it is then taken out, and serves for the cross. (See the Aurea Legenda under the rubric De Inventionem Sanctæ Crucis.) The legend of the finding of the Cross by the Empress Helena is well known. The same story, with some slight variations, is the subject of a series of frescoes at Arezzo, by *Pietro della Francesca*.—C. L. E.

A fuller account of this legend, as connected with art, is given in 'The History of Our Lord in Art,' vol. ii. p. 385.

the choir of S. Croce at Florence. One of the most striking of the subjects is that of the sick people lying on their beds, and drinking water from the pool of Bethesda. Another represents the Emperor Heraclius crowned, and with his suite, bearing the true Cross, and vainly endeavouring to enter the gate of Jerusalem, which is miraculously walled up; the next shows Heraclius stripped to his shirt, and bare-footed, carrying the Cross on his shoulder, the gate, which was closed to his pride, being now opened to his humility. Near him, and near the gate is, according to Vasari, the portrait of *Agnolo* himself, in a red hood, and with a small beard. This head still exists. But all these frescoes are much injured.

Agnolo Gaddi, Vasari relates, lived for some time at Venice, where he, and *Taddeo* before him, are stated to have studied the ways of the world, in the form of mercantile transactions. This occupation may perhaps account for the absence of all traces of their art in that city. *Agnolo* died in 1396, and was also buried within the majestic walls of S. Croce.

Giovanni da Milano, to whom *Taddeo Gaddi* entrusted the instruction of his son *Agnolo* in art, was born at Milan, his real name *Giovanni Jacobi*. He was long an assistant to *Taddeo*. He also studied Sieneese examples, and combines something of the warmth of the Sieneese school, with that Florentine paleness of colour, which we have seen, was an attribute of *Giotto*. Though incapable of advancing the art of composition, he contributed to the development of art by a sweetness and earnestness of expression, and by a more faithful imitation of nature in form and drawing. His joint works with *Taddeo* at Arezzo have perished, and this painter is chiefly known by two panel-pictures. Of these an upright picture, apparently once the centre of an altar-piece, representing the dead Saviour seated on the tomb, and mourned by the Virgin, the Magdalen, and St. John, is signed and dated 1365.* It is now in the Accademia at Florence. A more important work in the Gallery at Prato is an altar-piece, with the Virgin enthroned, with four saints, and other smaller subjects; also signed.

* Engraved in the Galleria delle Belle Arti.

Another example, believed to be by his hand, are two fragments in the Uffizi, each comprising two or three painted niches, with saints in couples, and medallions above, with scenes from the Creation; and below, choirs of martyrs, apostles, patriarchs, and prophets.

The frescoes in the Rinuccini Chapel S. Croce, formerly, on Vasari's authority, assigned to *Taddeo*, are now, by comparison of style, pronounced to be the work of *Giovanni da Milano*. These scenes from the life of our Lord and of the Madonna—all greatly damaged—exhibit his improved command over the movement of the human figure and his natural and realistic feeling. In the Magdalen Washing the Feet of Christ, the two Disciples who suspend their eating to listen to the words of the Saviour, are peculiarly natural. The same may be said of the scene, where Martha, in her desire for the help of Mary, points to the kitchen in the distance, where the cook and the fire are seen. The period of *Giovanni da Milano*'s death is unknown, but he was admitted to the freedom of Florence in 1366.

Of *Stefano Fiorentino*, whom Vasari places on a level with *Taddeo Gaddi*, nothing is known.

In attempting, however imperfectly, to trace the school of *Giotto*, the historian of art is met by many difficulties. One of these consists in the familiar appellations given to painters during their lives, and of which contemporary records have retained more records than of the baptismal name, and still more than of the so-called surname. And even these familiar appellations have, in some instances, been further familiarised, as with *Orcagna*, so corrupted from "Arcagnolo," a term perhaps of endearment, perhaps connected with his art, the origin of which is lost. The painter *Giottino*, stated by Vasari to have been born in 1324, is one whose real name has eluded search. The utmost believed to be known of him being his baptismal name connected with that of his father, Tommaso di Stefano and further, the fact that certain frescoes in S. Spirito at Florence are stated by Ghiberti to have been the work of one *Maso*, the disciple of *Giotto*, and by Vasari, that of one *Giottino*, leaving the inference that *Maso* and *Giottino* were the same man. These

frescoes represent the life of S. Silvestro, as given in the Golden Legend. *Giottino* is seen here in the same naturalistic path trodden by *Giovanni da Milano*, but with far higher feeling for composition and truth of detail. The same hand is recognised in the crypt chapel of the Strozzi under the Capella degli Spagnuoli in S. Maria Novella—in a fresco representing the expulsion of Walter de Brienne on the staircase of the present Accademia Filarmonica in the Via del Diluvio, Florence—in a *Pieta* now in the Uffizi; and, it is also acknowledged, in the scenes of the acts of St. Nicholas, in the Lower Church at Assisi, in the Capella del Sacramento. All of these do honour to the school of *GiOTTO*, and exhibit the author as his most successful imitator. The fresco of St. Nicholas restoring a Girl to her Parents * shows the germ of the finest dramatic and realistic feeling. But at best, the history of this painter continues wrapped in obscurity. The works of such pupils as Vasari assigns to him have perished; and, according to the latest investigators, two or more painters are believed to have borne the name of *Giottino*.

We pass over many scholars and imitators of *GiOTTO*, as their works contributed nothing to the further progress of art: even of those above adduced, none equalled their master in greatness of conception. We shall also, for the present, disregard the numerous artists of other schools whose style was entirely transformed by *GiOTTO*'s influence; returning to them in due time when we notice the local schools.

As one of *GiOTTO*'s contemporaries, however, may be mentioned *Pietro Cavallini*, the Roman, who flourished about the year 1340. His mosaics of the Life of the Virgin on the wall of the choir tribune in S. Maria in Trastevere in Rome, have been preserved, and exhibit simple and, in part, excellent compositions of fine arrangement and careful execution.

The Florentine illuminator, *Don Sylvester* (a Camaldolese monk, about 1350), may be best mentioned here. It is true he is more known by Vasari's praise than by his own works, though a few drawings cut out of a missal belonging to the

* Engraved in Ottley's 'Florentine School,' pl. 25.

Convent degli Angeli — formerly in the collection of Mr. Young Ottley, of London, and now in the Liverpool Institution — show that the illuminators of the school of *Giotto* were in no way behind the period in dignity and expression.

One of the most imposing monuments of the early part of the fourteenth century, and in great measure identified with the school of *Giotto*, is the great chapter-hall called the Capella degli Spagnuoli in S. Maria Novella at Florence. This chapel was founded for the celebration of the then newly-instituted festival of the Corpus Christi by a rich Florentine citizen, Buonamico di Lapo Guidalotti, who died before the paintings were completed. Hitherto, adapting Vasari's statement, the authorship of these frescoes has been divided between *Taddeo Gaddi* and *Simone Memmi* (*Martini*). The improved science of criticism, in this instance originating with Rumohr, has discarded this assertion, though it has not at present led to anything more positive regarding these works than that some of them are Giottesque, and may possibly owe their composition to *Taddeo Gaddi*, and their execution to another hand; while others bear a Sienese character.

On the altar wall opposite the windows is the subject of the Passion, here represented as that event upon which the Christian Church is especially founded, the perpetual remembrance of which the Corpus Christi Festival is intended to celebrate. The subjects are arranged above and on each side of the small apsis in a peculiar manner, being so contrived that the different movements and incidents are not separated from each other. On the left is the procession to Calvary, coming out of the city, and winding round the hill: windows and roofs are swarming with spectators. The Virgin, with the other women, is walking dejectedly behind the Saviour, who is turning round to her. Above on the hill, is the Crucifixion, with the women in a grandly treated group on one side. The Virgin is not represented fainting, but looking up at the Cross with a mixed expression of anguish and resignation. On the other side are horsemen, driving back the people, who fly in all directions; among them is a figure in a yellow mantle, perhaps Ahasuerus. Underneath,

on the right of the apsis, is the descent of Christ into Hell. The forms of the patriarchs, which he has set free, are expressed grandly, and without any vehemence of impatience. The demons are lurking behind a door of rock, with every sign of fear.

The subjects on the wall opposite, through which the spectator enters, are almost obliterated, owing to the windows having been originally open. According to Vasari, they represent the life of St. Domeniek. The episode of the Saint preaching is still discernible, as well as that of the resuscitation of a damsel, who turns with gestures of amazement to her mother.

The fresco which adorns the left wall of the chapel (as seen from the entrance) contains an allegorical representation of the Wisdom of the Church. In the centre and upper part of the composition is St. Thomas Aquinas enthroned between the prophets and saints, foremost among whom are Daniel, St. Paul, Moses, and St. John the Evangelist, who are seated on each side. The splendour with which St. Thomas is here invested may be ascribed to the zeal with which he promoted the Corpus Christi festival, and to the circumstance of his recent canonization. Besides this, it was the object of the Dominican order, here in the grandest of their sacred edifices, so to represent the apotheosis of their favourite Saint as to rival that by which St. Francis of Assisi was usually honoured. In contradistinction to that Saint, who appears under the form of a mystical comparison with Christ, St. Thomas is here made to typify the dominion over this world's wisdom and knowledge. In other words, the teaching vocation of the Dominicans, as opposed to the contemplative vocation of the Franciscans, is here meant to be expressed. St. Thomas is seated in solemn tranquillity beneath a rich Gothic canopy, holding a book on which appears this Latin inscription from the Book of Wisdom (vii. 7, 8), "Wherefore I prayed, and understanding was given me: I called upon God, and the spirit of wisdom came to me. I preferred her before sceptres and thrones, and esteemed riches nothing in comparison of her." Angels hover above him; on each side are five seats, occupied by prophets and evangelists. At

his feet are three men with books, in crouching attitudes like vanquished slaves: they represent the most prominent heretics, Arius, Sabellius, and Averrhoes, while the Seven Virtues with their symbols hover over the scene. Beneath this row of figures are seated fourteen female figures, personifying the Virtues and Sciences; at the feet of each, a step lower, is a male figure—the portrait of some person, whether of early or latter times, celebrated for excellence in that particular virtue or science. Thus Grammar, with a globe in her hand, and teaching three children, has Donatus, who excelled in that study, seated writing at her feet. Rhetoric, holding a scroll, accompanies Cicero, who has a finely intellectual head; Logic, with a serpent under her veil,* has Zeno below her; Music, Tubal Cain; Astronomy, Atlas; Geometry, Euclid; Arithmetic, Abraham(?) Charity, St. Augustin; Faith, Dionysius the Areopagite; Hope, John of Damascus, a fine figure mending his pen; Practical Theology, Boethius; Speculative Theology, Peter Lombard; Canon Law, Pope Clement V.; Civil Law, Justinian. These figures were grievously repainted at a now distant period, to which must be attributed the three hands of Cicero which perplexed the Abbate Mecatti writing in 1737. Profound reflection and enthusiastic inspiration are happily expressed in each of these figures, giving them a certain stamp of grandeur and tranquillity. The intellectual head of Cicero, and the melancholy, contemplative countenance of Boethius, are both especially remarkable. On the triangular space of the groined roof, over these paintings, is represented the Descent of the Holy Ghost, the relation of which to the general subject is expressed in the inscription on the book which St. Thomas Aquinas holds. The scene occurs in an open gallery, while below, before the closed door, are standing a group of scoffers.

While on the wall just described the Church is seen in tranquil study, the opposite wall is devoted to a representation of her external activity. In the lower part, to the left, is a large cathedral-like edifice, in the Italian Gothic style. It is, in fact, a representation of the cathedral of

* In Rosini's engraving, a scorpion. See also his explanation of the figures.—C. L. E.

Florence, according to the original design, and is here to be understood as the symbol of the spiritual Church. Before it are seated a Pope and an Emperor, as the highest guardians of the Church, with ecclesiastical and temporal rulers near them,—solemn, dignified figures. Instead of the imperial globe, as customary, the Emperor is holding a death's head in his hand, as typical of the perishableness of all earthly power, when compared with that of the eternal Church. On each side, groups of the Faithful stand and kneel. These groups consist partly of celebrated men and women of the time, partly of the poor and infirm. The community of the Faithful is also represented under the form of a flock of sheep feeding before the feet of the Pope, and guarded by two dogs. Further, to the right, is seen St. Domenick preaching against the heretics, and converting some of them. These are entreating pardon and burning their books. Near him the flock is again introduced, but in this instance it is attacked by wolves, while the dogs defend it. The dogs are all spotted black and white, and thus allude to the dress of the Dominicans* (*Domini canes*), to whom the defence of the Church especially belongs. On the same side, higher in the picture, are represented the joys and follies of the world, dances and the like, and then the conversion and repentance of men fettered in earthly pursuits. Above the church is seen the door which leads to heaven: St. Peter opens it to the Blessed, and permits them to enter Paradise, where Christ appears in glory with choirs of angels on either side. The treatment of the whole picture is extremely animated; the costume, as was here required, is throughout that of the time, and in several of the heads there is a happy attempt at individuality. Many names of cotemporary personages have been handed down, whose portraits are said to be in the picture. The painting on the triangular space above represents the ship of the Church-(the *Navicella*) on a stormy sea, the same composition which *Giotto* had executed in mosaic in Rome.

Some of these frescoes, as has been said, bear a Giottesque

* According to the legend, the mother of the Saint, before his birth, dreamt that she brought forth a dog.

character, and others a Sicnese. To the latter belong the large fresco of St. Thomas Aquinas. It can be shown, however, that it is not by *Simone Memmi*, though, if the frescoes at Pisa, assigned to that painter, can be proved to be by *Andrea da Florentia*, it is evident that the four walls of the Capella degli Spagnuoli are by the same hand.

We now turn to a place which is important above all others in the history of the art of the fourteenth century, namely, the Campo Santo,* or cemetery, of Pisa, a space of about four hundred feet in length, and one hundred and eighteen in width, enclosed by high walls, and surrounded on the inside with an arcade. On the east side is a large chapel; on the north, two smaller ones, and opposite to them on the south are the two entrances. This space is said to have been filled with earth brought from the Holy Land in the beginning of the thirteenth century. The building was erected in the course of the same century, by *Giovanni Pisano* son of the before-mentioned *Niccola*. The whole of the walls from top to bottom were afterwards adorned with large paintings. The east chapel was painted in the commencement of the fourteenth century; of the works it contained, however, there are now no remains.

The most ancient of the existing frescoes are those on the east wall, on the left on coming out of the chapel. They represent the Passion of Christ, his Resurrection, his Appearance to the Disciples, and Ascension; it appears that they were executed before the middle of the fourteenth century. A peculiarly grand and imaginative character pervades the representation of the Passion; the others are serious and solemn, particularly where Christ appears to the disciples and they touch his wounds. The pictures are rude in execution, and are besides much painted over. They are ascribed to a certain *Buonamico Buffalmaco*, whose existence though once doubted, is now confirmed by the discovery of his name, *Buonamico Cristofani*, in the register of the

* C. Lasinio, 'Pitture a fresco del Campo Santo di Pisa.' (Smaller edition, at twelve scudi, subscription price).—'Pitture a fr. del Campo S. di Pisa,' disegnato da G. Rossi, ed incise dal Cav. G. P. Lasinio figlio. Firenze (after 1832). Compare Rosini's 'Descrizione delle Pitture del Campo Santo di Pisa,'



THE TRIUMPH OF DEATH, a fresco in the Campo Santo, Pisa.

Florentine company of painters, in 1351.* How far he is really the author of these early works has not been proved. The large pictures which follow on the north wall are more important. They belong to the middle of the same century, and are the work of a profound and imaginative artist, who has succeeded in representing his conception of Life and Death in a painted poem, full of the deepest meaning, yet requiring neither symbol nor allegory to express the ideas contained in it, and the more effective from this direct union between the representation and its import. The mind of this artist rises indeed above *Giotto*, whose steps he followed, and might be compared to the poet of the *Divina Commedia*, were it not that the very subordinate degree of his technical skill places him far below the perfection of Dante's *terzarima*. *Andrea*, son of the Florentine sculptor, Cione; called *Orgagna*, or *Orcagna*, a corruption of Arcagnolo, has hitherto, on the authority of Vasari, been considered the author of these grand works. Modern research has not done much to settle the question of true authorship, though MM. Crowe and Cavalcaselle do their best to claim it for the Siennese brothers *Giovanni* and *Pietro Lorenzetti*.

The first of these pictures is called the Triumph of Death, (see woodcut). On the right is a festive company of ladies and cavaliers, who, by their falcons and dogs, appear to be returned from the chase. They sit under orange-trees, and are splendidly dressed; rich carpets are spread at their feet. A troubadour and a singing-girl amuse them with flattering songs; *amorini* flutter around them and wave their torches. All the pleasures and joys of earth are here united. On the left, Death approaches with rapid flight—a fearful-looking woman, with wild streaming hair, claws instead of nails, large bat's-wings and indestructible wire-woven drapery. She swings a scythe in her hand, and is on the point of mowing down the joys of the company. A host of corpses closely pressed together lie at her feet; by their insignia they are almost all to be recognised as the former rulers of the world—kings, queens, cardinals, bishops, princes, warriors, &c. Their souls rise from them in the form of

* See Crowe and Cavalcaselle, vol. i. p. 387, note.

new-born infants; angels and demons are ready to receive them; the souls of the Pious fold their hands in prayer, those of the Condemned shrink back in horror. The angels are almost like gay butterflies in appearance, the demons have the semblance of beasts of prey or of disgusting reptiles. They contend with each other for their victims: on the right, the angels ascend to heaven with those they have saved; while the demons drag their prey to a fiery mountain, visible on the left, and hurl the souls down into the flames. Next to these corpses is a crowd of beggars and cripples, who with outstretched arms call upon Death to end their sorrows: but she heeds not their prayer, and has already hastened away. A rock separates this scene from another, in which is a second hunting party, descending the mountain by a hollow path; here again are richly attired princes and dames on horses splendidly caparisoned, and a train of horsemen with falcons and dogs. The path has led them to three open sepulchres in the left corner of the picture; in them lie the bodies of three princes, in different stages of decay. Close by, in extreme old age, and supported on crutches, stands a monk,* who, turning to the princes, points to this bitter "memento mori." They speak apparently with indifference of the circumstance, and one of them holds his nose from the horrible smell. One queenly lady alone, deeply moved, rests her head on her hand, her graceful countenance full of sorrow. On the mountain heights are several hermits, who, in contrast to the followers of the joys of the world, have attained, in a life of contemplation and abstinence, the highest term of human existence. One of them milks a doe, squirrels play about him; another sits and reads; and a third looks down into the valley, where the remains of the mighty are mouldering away. Tradition relates that among the distinguished personages in these pictures are portraits of the artist's contemporaries.

* Intended for St. Macarius (see Vasari, 'Vita di Orgagna'); the legend corresponding with the subject here described is quoted in Douce's 'Dance of Death.' The first part of the allegory, with the peculiar female personification of Death, is evidently borrowed from Petrarch's 'Trionfo di Morte.'—C. L. E.



THE LAST JUDGMENT AND HELL; a fresco in the Campo Santo, Pisa.

The second representation is the Last Judgment (see woodcut). In the composition of this work a symmetrical and almost architectural severity prevails, which, however, produces a powerful general effect, and yet leaves room for varied and spirited *motives* in the detail. In the centre, above, sits Christ in an almond-shaped glory, raising, according to traditional usage, his right hand to show his wound, and pointing with the other hand to the wound in his side, as signs of mercy to the rising Dead. The Virgin is seated in glory on the right of the Saviour. On both sides sit the Fathers of the Old Testament, the Apostles and other Saints next to them, severe, solemn, dignified figures. Angels, holding the instruments of the Passion, hover over Christ and the Virgin: under them is a group of angels, in the strictest symmetrical arrangement, who summon the dead from their graves; two blow the trumpets, a third conceals himself in his drapery, apparently shuddering at the awful spectacle. Lower down is the earth, where men are rising from the graves; armed angels direct them to the right and left. Here is seen Solomon, who whilst he rises seems doubtful to which side he should turn; here a hypocritical monk, whom an angel draws back by the hair from the host of the Blessed; and a youth in secular costume, whom another angel leads away from the Condemned to the opposite groups. The Blessed and the Condemned rise on both sides; in the gestures of the latter are all the torments of despair, the flames of hell rage upon them, and demons already seize them by the drapery. It is said that there are many portraits of contemporaries among the Blessed and Condemned, but no circumstantial traditions have reached us. The attitudes of Christ and the Virgin were afterwards borrowed by *Michael Angelo*, in his celebrated Last Judgment, at Rome; but notwithstanding the perfection of his forms, he stands far below the dignified grandeur of the earlier master. Later painters have also taken this arrangement of the patriarchs and apostles as their model, particularly *Fra Bartolomeo* and *Raphael*.

The third representation, directly succeeding the foregoing, is the Inferno. It is inferior to the preceding in

execution, and even in the composition, in which imagination degenerates into the monstrous. Hell is here represented in the old form prescribed by the Roman church before Dante was born, divided into four compartments rising one above the other. In the midst sits Satan, a hideous monster—himself a fiery furnace—out of whose body flames arise in different places, in which sinners are consumed or crushed. Beside him, in the different compartments, serpents and demons torment the Condemned. The whole lower part of the picture was badly painted over in the sixteenth century.*

Next to the picture of Hell, in the Campo Santo, it appears that the painter, whoever he was, had intended to paint a Paradiso (probably like that in the Strozzi chapel), as the termination of a grand eyele.† This design, however, was not executed; in its place is the Life of the Hermits in the Wilderness of the Thebais; this may be considered as a continuation of the scene of the Hermits in the Triumph of Death. It is a well-filled picture, composed of a number of single groups, in which the calm life of contemplation is represented in the most varied manner. In front flows the Nile; a number of hermits are seen on its shores, who are still subjected to earthly occupation; they catch fish, hew wood, carry burthens to the city, etc. Higher up, in the mountain, where the hermits dwell in caves and chapels, they are more and more estranged from the concerns of the world. But the Tempter follows the spirit of man even into the wilderness; in various forms, sometimes frightful, sometimes alluring, he seeks to divert the pious from their holy employments; he appears but twice in his well-known serpent form; he is generally disguised as a disputing philosopher, a seducing woman, etc., but always to be recognised by his claw feet.‡ As a whole, this composition is constructed in the ancient form (such as we find,

* The composition in its original state may be seen in an old engraving in Morrona's 'Pisa Illustrata.'

† This would have completed what theologians call the "quatuor novissima" (the four last things), Death, Judgment, Hell, and Paradise.—C. L. E.

‡ The representations of the Tempter in early works of art are generally to be traced to classic sources; in this instance the *talons* may have been suggested by the form of the Sirens.—C. L. E.

for instance, in Byzantine art): several series of representations rise above each other, the upper and more distant being of equal size with the lower. The picture thus fails, as a matter of course, in perspective and general effect; but as the artist makes no pretension to this kind of excellence, the spectator is unconscious of the defect; the single representations, on the other hand, are executed with much grace and feeling.

These three frescoes, successively described, are now, after careful investigation, ascribed to one and the same hand. *Orcagna* is entirely dismissed from the honours of the Campo Santo,* not only because the style of these frescoes does not correspond with that of his known works, but because it evinces a Sienese rather than a Florentine character, and *Pietro Lorenzetti*, misnamed by Vasari *Pietro Laurati*, is suggested in his place. That this painter executed the fresco of the Hermits is historically known, and his hand is considered to be traceable in the two others.† Into these surmises, however solidly founded, we need not enter. The fresco of the hermits adjoins the first entrance to the Campo Santo. Between it and the second are represented the story of S. Raniero, the patron Saint of Pisa, and that of SS. Efeso and Potito.‡ Each story consists of six compartments—three occupying the upper, and three the lower half of the wall. After having been for centuries ascribed to *Simone Memmi*, whose name, like that of *Giotto*, has been attached to numerous works of forgotten parentage, it has been ascertained by a receipt of payment, dated 1377, that the three upper pictures of the legend of St. Raniero were the work of one *Andrea da Florentia*, the three lower ones that of *Antonio da Venezia*, about the year 1386.§ These last frescoes show a far higher feeling for beauty and precision of form than those above them.

The histories of SS. Efeso and Potito on the south wall

* See E. Förster, 'Beiträge,' p. 109, where, in support of this view, the freer, but also ruder style of the pictures in the Campo Santo is compared with the finish and grace of those in S. Maria Novella.

† Crowe and Cavalcaselle, vol. i. p. 451.

‡ See the 'Acta Sanctorum,' Jan. vi. pp. 753, 997.—C. L. E.

§ Crowe and Cavalcaselle, vol. i. p. 483.

(the lower half being almost entirely obliterated) were painted by *Spinello da Arezzo* in 1391, the story of S. Efeso occupies the upper portion. The Saint, a Pagan by birth, is seen before the Emperor Diocletian, who promotes him to a high command against the Christians; when the Lord appears to him and forbids the enterprisc. Efeso, accordingly, turns his arms against the unconverted Sardinians, receiving a banner of victory (here inscribed with the arms of Pisa) from the Archangel Michael, who, with his angels, accompanies him to the fight. Subsequently, the Saint appears as a captive before the Pagan Prætor of Sardinia, and is condemned to the flames. He escapes these by a miracle, and is finally decapitated.

The records of the Campo Santo prove that *Spinello* completed these works in March 1392 (according to present reckoning in 1393).

The history of Job (see woodcut) occupies a third part of the south wall at the eastern end. After the usual ascription to *Giotto*, this portion is now, from the evidence of records, believed to have been the work of one *Francesco da Volterra*, a Giottesque painter, long settled in Pisa,* and possibly identical with *Francisco da Maestro Giotto*, whose name is inserted in the Florentine guild in 1341; at all events, it is certain that the work was commenced on the 4th August, 1371. The story is painted in a double course, and divided into six large compartments, now greatly cut into by the Algarotti monument, and showing a grand and animated treatment. The series begins from the top, near the western entrance, with the subject of Job feasting with his friends and feeding the poor, while shepherds and herds are grouped around. One of the most striking of the subjects is that of Satan—a horned monster with the wings of a bat and hoofs of an ox—pleading before the Almighty (see woodcut). Injured and restored as all this series is, it is evident that the master possessed no small power of expression, and a facility for imitating the appearances of nature and the forms of animals.

The west wall exhibits only inferior works of a later time.

* Crowe and Cavalcaselle, vol. i. p. 392-3.



THE MISFORTUNES OF JOB. a fresco by Francescu da Volterra, in the Campo Santo, Pisa.



SCENE FROM THE HISTORY OF JOB; a fresco in the Campo
Santo at Pisa, by Francesco da Volterra

p. 154. No. 2.



On the north wall are subjects from the Creation to the Deluge,* ascribed formerly to *Buffalmaco*, but now known to be the work of *Pietro*, son of *Puccio* of Orvieto. These paintings, executed in the last ten years of the fourteenth century, represent the First Person of the Trinity, bearing the Globe of the World; the Creation of Man; the Fall and its consequences; the Death of Abel, the Death of Cain, and the Deluge: they evince a serious feeling in holy subjects, and, at the same time, a cheerful, natural treatment of the circumstances of life. They are also remarkable for technical merits, particularly for an harmonious arrangement of colour. A Coronation of the Virgin, on the same wall, over the door of the second chapel, is also by this artist: little more than the design is now visible, in which, however, a grand and enthusiastic character is still to be recognised.†

Political circumstances hindered the progress of the works in the Campo Santo. It was not till the second half of the fifteenth century that the embellishments were continued, when the whole north wall, with the exception of the portion occupied by *Pietro di Puccio*, was embellished with the large and splendid frescoes by *Benozzo Gozzoli*. These were executed between the year 1469 and 1485. They form a continuation both in situation and subject of the works of *Pietro*, and represent the history of the Old Testament from the time of Noah to the visit of the queen of Sheba, in a thronged and overflowing series. These richly illustrate this master's peculiar powers, they are twenty-one in number. We shall reach *Benozzo Gozzoli* in the chronological progress of art.

* Some of these, as usual, are apocryphal; for example, the Death of Cain. For a description of this subject, as represented by the early Italian painters, see Comestor, 'Hist. Scholastica Gen.', c. 28; Höttinger, 'Hist. Orientalis,' p. 24, gives its source.—C. L. E.

† The name of *Pietro di Puccio d'Orvieto* represents an epoch in the technical history of painting. His works, above mentioned, in the Campo Santo of Pisa, are considered, on good grounds, to be the earliest examples of fresco-painting, properly so called. See E. Förster, 'Beiträge,' p. 220.—C. L. E.

For a description of the imperfect fresco-painting previously, and perhaps anciently in use, see Eastlake's 'Materials for a History of Oil Painting,' 1847, p. 142.

Not the least important or numerous class of artists in the fourteenth century were the goldsmiths, whose works adorned the altars of churches and the banquetting tables of princes and wealthy citizens. But it is in the nature of things that articles in gold and silver should elude preservation. The Florentines were bankers to the majority of European princes; yet even at Florence the amount of money in circulation fell occasionally far below the demand, so that in all great enterprises of war or piety the melting or pawning of plate and jewellery was the common resource. Thus it is that but few specimens of the goldsmith's art have descended to us, and nothing remains to represent the skill of the Florentine goldsmith *Cione* except the silver altar-table of the Baptistery of S. Giovanni, in the execution of which he took a part. This *Cione* was the father of several sons who all worked as architects, sculptors, or painters. His most eminent son was *Andrea*, known in his time as *L'Areagnolo*—a name afterwards corrupted to that of *Orcagna*. The date of his birth is unknown, but records prove that his wife survived him in 1376.

Orcagna is believed not to have known *Giotto*, though the mantle of the great master seems to have fallen more directly on him than on any of *Giotto's* pupils. This is not so much intended as indicating any identity of style, as the possession of those conditions which tended to the general progress of art. Like *Giotto*, *Orcagna* was at once a painter, a sculptor, and an architect—tradition also makes him a poet; and, while upholding the great Giottesque maxims of truth and simplicity, he introduced that softer religious sentiment which found its culminating point in *Fra Angelico*. From the school of Florence he derived his sterner qualities, from that of Siena the tenderness which tempered them. According to Vasari, *Orcagna* received his teaching in sculpture from *Andrea Pisano* (*da Pontedera*), who executed works in bronze and marble from *Giotto's* designs—an assertion which the tabernacle in Or San Michele corroborates. Thus through him *Orcagna* may be said to have been inspired by *Giotto* in that art. His immediate master in painting is unknown.

The choir of S. Maria Novella, in Florence, was originally

decorated with frescoes by *Orcagna*. No record of their date remains, except the tradition that they were damaged by a storm in 1358. A century later their disfigured remains were covered by *Ghirlandajo's* great work, the History of the Madonna and of the Baptist, in which that master is believed to have introduced some of *Orcagna's* incidents.

The date of *Orcagna's* frescoes in the Strozzi chapel, S. Maria Novella, is equally uncertain. He painted on the three principal walls the Last Judgment, the Paradiso, and the Inferno. The Last Judgment has the usual traditional arrangement, but the figure of our Lord shows so far an advance in the liberty of art that it is not confined within the limits of an aureole; while in the figures of the angels he even attempted foreshortenings which place him at the highest level attainable without the knowledge of perspective. In the group of female dancers, though little more than outlines remain, may be traced the germ of those graceful figures which charm us in *Fra Angelico's* conceptions of the Blessed. The 'Paradiso'—what remains of it—is full of interest for the student of dawning art. The two angels at the foot of the throne, playing on musical instruments, are especially grand and graceful. These two frescoes are much defaced by damp and restorations, and the 'Inferno' is completely repainted.

It is surmised that these works were completed previous to 1354, which is the date of the contract for *Orcagna's* altar-piece in the same chapel. By this contract, preserved in the Strozzi family, the painter engages to finish the picture in a year and eight months. The picture is signed, and dated 1357, proving that he did not fulfil that condition. It consists of five compartments, with a predella in three divisions. The principal subject is our Lord enthroned within a glory of seraphim and cherubim, giving the gospels to St. Thomas Aquinas on the right, and the keys to St. Peter on the left. Like all the early great painters *Orcagna* is seen to more advantage in his frescoes than in his panel paintings. The hand of the painter is again recognised in a picture which hangs on the first pilaster on the left, on entering the northern portal of the Cathedral at Florence. This repre-

sents S. Zanolio, the patron saint of the city, enthroned, with SS. Crescenzo and Eugenio kneeling at his side: also with predella. Another picture in the Medici chapel in S. Croce is of the same class. It is in four compartments, with the figures of the Fathers of the Latin church. Two pictures in the same chapel, and others, scattered in Florentine churches, are also possibly by his hand.

The altar-piece by *Orcagna*, formerly in S. Piero Maggiore, in Florence, is now in the National Gallery. Most of the painter's characteristics are traced in its numerous parts, and not least, the feeling which culminated in *Fra Angelico*.

Orcagna's fame as a sculptor rests upon the tabernacle of Or San Michele. The bas-reliefs on this monument may be said to be the finest produced in the fourteenth century. That representing the Assumption of the Virgin is especially remarkable for a vigour of character which points to the vicinity of the sculpture on the Campanile and on the bronze gates of the Baptistery. The tabernacle in all its parts was designed by *Orcagna*, and the light and graceful proportions of the stone-work, and even the beauty of the iron railing, all combine to attest his varied powers, and also his sense of a whole. The inscription shows that it was completed in 1359.

Orcagna was employed in an architectural capacity in the works of the cathedral at Orvieto; he also executed a mosaic for the front of the building. The last record as yet discovered relating to him is his enrolment in the guild of St. Luke, at Florence, in 1369. He is known to have died in Florence.

Bernardo Cione was the elder brother of *Orcagna*. The discovery that the frescoes in the Campo Santo are by another hand than that of *Orcagna* equally refutes Vasari's statement that *Bernardo* assisted in them. Nor is there any appearance of a second hand either in them or in the frescoes of the Strozzi-chapel, though Vasari also states him to have been *Orcagna's* collaborator there. No pictures indeed exist which can be with certainty ascribed to him, though certain works signed "Bernardus de Florentia" suggest a possible identity between the painter who thus signed himself and *Bernardo*, the son of *Cione*. A tryptich, thus signed, is

in the Academy at Florence ; a Virgin and Saints, similarly identified, is in the convent of the Ognissanti ; a third work, a Crucifixion with eight Saints, was in the late Mr. Davenport Bromley's collection.

Francesco Traini is stated by Vasari to have been a scholar of *Orcagna*. This fact has been contested by other writers, but no certainty has been arrived at. The only works by him preserved at this time are two altar-pieces at Pisa—the one St. Thomas Aquinas triumphing over the heretics, in the church of S. Catherine, the other the history of St. Domenick, in the Academy of Arts. The latter especially shows a painter of merit, with more of the Sienese than the Florentine feeling. This altar-piece was completed in 1346.

The art of *Niccola Tommasi*, by whom a tryptich exists in S. Antonio Abbate at Naples, executed in 1371, exhibits some resemblance to that of *Orcagna*, and it has been conjectured that he was his pupil.

Bernardo Nello di Giovanni Falcone, and *Tommaso di Marco* are both placed by Vasari in the school of *Orcagna*. No work by either is now traced.

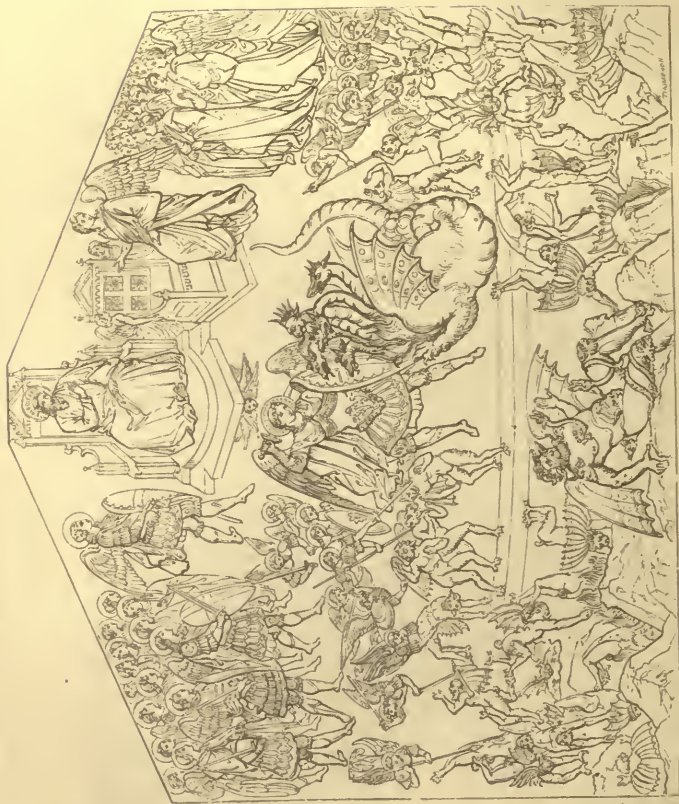
Puccio Capanna is a name which Vasari designates as that of a pupil and fellow-labourer of *Giotto*, and whose signature, "Puceio da Fiorenza," he reports to have been inscribed on a crucifix in S. Domenico at Pistoia. That he is not a mere name is proved by evidence which, in the case of many an Italian painter, stands in lieu of a baptismal register—namely, by the entry of his admission into the Florentine guild, in 1349. Of his reputed works, in obscure frescoes, few exist, and they afford no clue to one supposed to be inspired by *Giotto*. Scenes from the life of our Lord, hitherto ascribed to *Puccio*, in the lower church of Assisi, are now claimed for *Giotto* himself—scenes from the lives of the Magdalen, and St. Mary of Egypt, evidently by a pupil of *Giotto*, and therefore possibly by *Puccio*, have been ascribed to *Buffalmaco*. The removal of whitewash may bring to light works of more positive identity, meanwhile *Puccio*, with other reputed scholars of *Giotto*, *Guglielmo da Forlì*, *Ottaviano*, and *Pace da Faenza*, furnish no sufficient

materials for present study. On the other hand, works of a common Giottesque type at Forlì and near Faenza are now identified by records as belonging to painters hitherto unmentioned in history—to a certain *Baldassare da Forlì*,* to *Pietro da Rimini*, and others too insignificant to dwell upon.

Jacopo da Casentino has been mentioned as sharing with *Gio. da Milano* in the education of *Agnolo Gaddi*, but while *Gio. da Milano* may be classed among those who led up to *Masaccio* and *Fra Angelico*, the successors of *Jacopo da Casentino* represent in some measure the decline of the school of *Giotto*. *Jacopo* became acquainted with *Taddeo Gaddi* when that painter was engaged in decorating the chapel of the church of Sasso della Verma, in Casentino, and followed him to Florence. There he is recorded to have worked on the walls and ceiling of Or San Michele, and on three tabernacles. The vestiges seen in Or San Michele show a weak and coarse Giottesque hand. In Arezzo also relics of him are found of the same unattractive character. The most interesting specimen of his hand is the altar-piece with the life of John the Baptist, now in the National Gallery, where the coarseness of colour and absence of all grace and feeling are redeemed by a certain energy of action, as seen in the predella. The fact also that the Guild of Painters at Florence was founded by *Jacopo da Casentino*, in 1349, shows an energetic character in other respects. This is further attested by Vasari's statement that he was employed in Arezzo in 1354 to restore a conduit, originally erected by the Romans, on which occasion he built the fountain, called the Fonte Guinizelli. He is also celebrated for one scholar who redeems the decline of his school, namely, *Spinello da Arezzo*, who represents the spirit of *Giotto* at the close of the fourteenth century better than any other painter of the time. The dates equally of *Jacopo's* birth and death are not recorded, but it is known that he died at 80 years of age.

Spinello Aretino, or *da Arezzo*, of a Ghibelline family which had taken refuge in Florence, may be studied in the sacristy of S. Miniato, above Florence, in the Life of St. Benedict—in

* Crowe and Cavalcaselle, vol. i. p. 376-385.



THE FALL OF LUCIFER, by Spinello of Arezzo : a fresco in the Church of S. Maria degli Angeli, Arezzo.
P. 161.

the Campo Santo at Pisa, in the histories of SS. Efeso and Potito,—and in the Palazzo Pubblico at Siena. As is the case with most of the early Florentine painters, he is seen to greater advantage in his frescoes than in his panel pictures. Like *Orcagna*, he combined the Sienese with the Florentine element, while his feeling for fine action and composition and breadth of drapery followed in the steps of *Giotto*. He lived a long and active life, of which but few dates have been preserved. In Florence, he painted in the choir of S. Maria Maggiore, in two chapels of the Carmine, and in other churches, all of which examples have yielded to various forms of destruction. In Casentino and Arezzo he also undertook extensive works. Two figures of SS. James and Philip, on an altar to the left of the entrance in S. Domenico, in Arezzo, are fine specimens of his powers. Also a colossal Trinity in a tabernacle above the door leading to the Compagnia della Misericordia at Arezzo. His frescoes at S. Maria degli Angeli at Arezzo, the history of Lucifer and the Fall of the Angels (see woodcut) are most associated with his name, and have, with the church they decorated, been recently destroyed.* The story—related by Vasari, and since repeated and handed down by every historian of art—of *Spinello*'s having died of fright from an apparition of Lucifer himself, who called him to account for painting him too black, is now overturned by the fact that the painter lived many years after the reputed vision, and died at his native place at the comfortable age of ninety-two. In the Farmacia attached to S. Maria Novella at Florence, a room called the 'Stanza delle Acque' exhibits frescoes illustrative of the Passion, proved to have been executed by *Spinello* in 1405, when he was nearly eighty. These frescoes show the extensive employment of pupils. He is believed to have died in 1418.

His son and scholar, *Parri Spinelli*, was a painter of whose art, though it will not reward research, there are abundant relics; more frescoes, unfortunately, having been preserved in Italy calculated to throw light on inferior painters than on those of a higher class.

* Three heads from this fresco, transferred to canvas, belong to the Right Hon. A. H. Layard, and were exhibited at Manchester.

Niccolo di Pietro Gerini was also a scholar of *Spinello*. There are examples of this diligent, and in some respects, meritorious painter at Pisa and at Prato: his last work at Pisa bears date 1401. His son *Lorenzo di Niccolo* was a weak edition of his father. He has left an altar-piece with predella, the Coronation of the Virgin, and Adoration of the Magi, in S. Domenico at Cortona, given to that church, according to an inscription on it, by Cosmo and Lorenzo di Medici, for the souls of themselves and their progenitors, and dated 1440.

This art, such as it was, was taken up by the family of the *Bicci*, consisting of three generations—*Lorenzo di Bicci*, *Bicci di Lorenzo*, and *Nero di Bicci*—the last dying in 1486, who repeated the types of *Giotto* in forms of prolific mediocrity.

A retrospect of the Florentine school exhibits to us the genius of its founder, *Giotto*, in its true greatness. We have now advanced more than a century since *Giotto*'s first appearance as a painter, and even his greatest followers, *Orcagna* and *Spinello*, have not essentially progressed beyond the limits which he reached. His mode of viewing life—his conception of forms—pervades their works; and great and rich as these works may be, they are only an additional testimony to the influence which *Giotto* exercised over this period.* All that is new in the productions of his successors is chiefly confined to that beauty of heads and mildness of expression which begins with the *Gaddi*, and finds its highest development in *Orcagna*'s Paradise. In other masters it already degenerates into insipidity. This aim, however, in no way affects the spirit of the school, nor diminishes the characteristic and dramatic animation for which it is distinguished.

* Rumohr, in his 'Ital. Forsch.', vol. ii. p. 400, endeavours to show that this slowness of development was owing to those associations in which artists formerly united themselves, and especially to the long-protracted dependence of the pupil upon the master.

CHAPTER II.

TUSCAN SCHOOLS.—SIENESE MASTERS AND THEIR FOLLOWERS.

DUCCIO.

WE have already mentioned the name of *Duccio di Buoninsegna* as one which holds a high position in the annals of early Italian art. He was the son of a Sieneze citizen, and his career begins after both *Cimabue* and *Giotto*. He was the first great painter in Siena, and though influenced strongly by Byzantine examples, he infused into them a grace peculiar to himself, and which continued to be the characteristic of the Sieneze school. Some of his conceptions of sacred subjects, in which he has retained the choicest traditional forms, may be said never to have been surpassed. The date of his birth is unknown. According to some accounts he was an established painter in Siena in 1282. At all events it is certain that in 1308 he undertook the execution of a large panel picture, 14 feet wide by 7 feet high, representing the Virgin and Child enthroned, with numerous saints and angels, and with four bishops kneeling in front. This work, richly covered with ornaments in gold, was completed in 1310, and carried in pomp, like that by *Cimabue*, from the studio of the painter to the Cathedral of Siena. There it still remains, though dismembered of parts, and sawn asunder in thickness. For the back of the panel was equally the field of *Duccio's* labours, in a series of twenty-six scenes from the life of our Lord.* This series, as MM. Crowe and Cavalcaselle observe, are for *Duccio* what the chapel of the Arena at Padua is for *Giotto*, bearing the impress of a vigorous reform in art, and embodying principles of dramatic action and expression which may be said to have endowed several generations of his followers. The figures here are

* Published in outline by Dr. E. Braun, Rome, 1847.—C. L. E.

about nine inches high, and the series commences with the Entry into Jerusalem (see woodcut), a composition of great animation, partaking of the character of a miniature. St. Peter denying our Lord, and Christ before Pilate, are also scenes of peculiar interest. The Crucifixion, which occupies a larger space in the centre, is remarkable for the angels which, according to early usage, surround the upper part of the cross, and by their dramatic gestures of sorrow convey in the most touching and natural manner the fact that the Great Sacrifice was consummated. But the composition most illustrative of classic tradition, and of *Duccio's* application of it, is that of the Angel at the Sepulchre with the three Maries approaching (see woodcut).

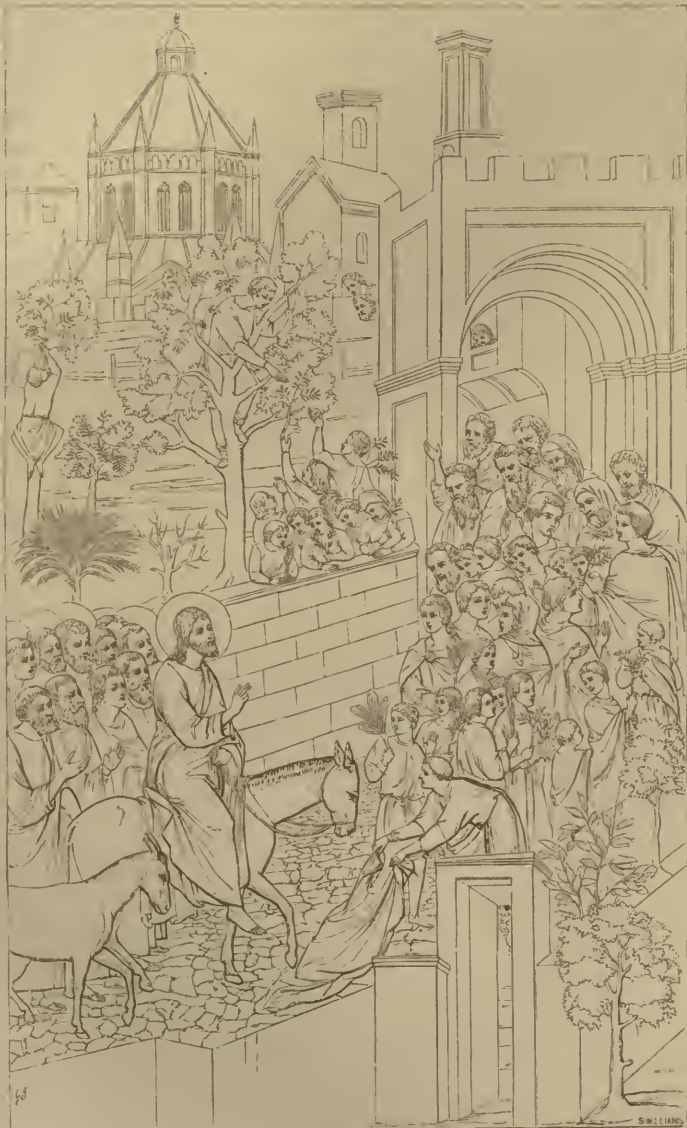
A work by *Duccio*, a Crucifixion, with other subjects, second only to the altar-piece at Siena, is in the collection of the late Prince Consort.

A Virgin and Child between SS. Domenick and Catherine is in the National Gallery.

Duccio's career closes in 1320, after which no record has been discovered of him, while pictures described as by his hand have either perished, or been so entirely modernized as not to be identified. The characteristics of *Duccio* which the Siennese school more especially retained were a certain grace and sweetness, a gay, light colouring devoid of relief, and a feeling for elaborate ornament which degenerated into mere mechanical labour.

Ugolino da Siena is a name attached to an altar-piece executed in the beginning of the fourteenth century for S. Croce at Florence. This picture passed, after customary vicissitudes, into the Ottley collection, since dispersed, and portions of it still exist in the possession of the Rev. John Fuller Russell, near Enfield. The style of these portions forms a transition from the severer forms of *Duccio* to the softer feeling of *Simone Memmi* (*Martini*).

Modern research has elicited several *Ugolinos* belonging to Siena. One *Ugolino di Pietro* painted there in 1324. Another, *Ugolino Vieri*, a goldsmith, executed the silver shrine, 'del Santo Corporale,' in the Cathedral at Orvieto. But the name best known is that of *Ugolino di Prete Ilario*,



CHRIST'S ENTRY INTO JERUSALEM;
Compartment from a large altarpiece by Duccio of Siena



Compartment from a large altarpiece by Duccio of Siena

who painted the frescoes in the chapel of the S. Corporale in the same cathedral, which are signed, "Ugolinus pictor di Urbe veteris" (Orvieto), and dated 1364. These exhibit Sienese art of an ordinary stamp.

Segna is the name of another early Sienese who adhered to the older forms without infusing into them sufficient life and originality to advance the cause of art. A picture, on which his signature—"Hoc opus pinxit Segna Senensis"—has recently been discovered, exists in the church of Castiglione Fiorentino, not far from Arezzo, and forms the principal specimen of the master. It represents the Virgin and Child, with saints and angels, and with four donors, the names being inscribed under each figure. *Mona* (Madonna) *Vanna* is on the left; behind, her husband, *Goro di Fino*; *Mona Miglia* on the right; behind, *Fino di Bonajuncta*. Another inscribed picture by the master—his name on the sword of St. Paul—is in the Sienese Academy. One specimen, a Crucifixion, is in the National Gallery.

One *Niccolo di Segna* has a signed picture of a Crucifixion in the Academy at Siena, but he assumes no further importance.

Second to *Duccio*, as heading the school of Siena, is *Simone Martini*, born at Siena, 1283. He married the daughter of one *Memmi di Filipuccio*, a painter, father of *Lippo Memmi*, facts which are supposed to account for the name *Memmi* given him by so easily satisfied an investigator as Vasari. Nor are there any grounds for believing that he was *Giotto's* pupil, for which no evidence, either in the life or style of *Simone*, exists, who was a strictly Sienese painter, formed on the manner developed by *Duccio*.

It is worthy of remark, that while the fame of *Giotto* is enshrined in the verse of Dante, that of *Simone Martini* receives the same tribute from Petrarch,* who further pays homage to both the great painters in his letters. "I have

* See 'Rime di Fr. Petrarca,' vol. i. p. 57. Milan, 1834, 12mo. Sonnets 49, 50. Notwithstanding his friendship for *Simone*, Petrarch seems to have had a still higher admiration for *Giotto*; this appears from the terms in which he bequeaths a work by that painter, as a valued possession, to Francesco Vecchio di Carrara, the sovereign of Padua.—C. L. E.

known two painters, talented both, and excellent, Giotto of Florence, whose fame amongst the moderns is great, and Simone of Siena.” *

The large and elaborate fresco in the Palazzo Pubblico at Siena, enclosed in a border of medallions and armorial shields, is now believed to be an early work by *Simone*.† The subject is the Madonna and Child, under a great canopy borne by citizens, with numerous saints and angels attending. The medallions in the centre, above and below, and at the corners, are also filled with sacred subjects. In the centre of the lower border is a partly obliterated inscription of four lines, beginning with the date, “mille tre cento e quindici,” and ending with the word “Symone.” This fresco has hitherto been attributed to an obscure painter, by name *Mino*, who was supposed to have executed it in 1289. In addition to the evidence of the inscription it is now proved that the present walls of the building did not exist at that time. The character of the work shows that aim at grace and tenderness in the female heads which in the Sienese school was strongly contrasted with the gravity of the male heads. The actions of some of the kneeling figures are good, the colour of the faces white and red, with spots of carmine on the cheeks like dolls. The execution is minute and careful, but flat and without effect, like a magnified miniature, and the composition lacks the fine distribution of the Florentine school. It is known that six years after its completion, eight of the heads required to be cut out and repainted, and that this operation was executed by *Simone*, though the causes that led to it are unknown. These eight heads, which are distinguishable, corroborate the belief that the same hand executed the whole work.

Many years later, in 1328, *Simone* painted, in the Sala del Consiglio, a fresco representing the equestrian figure of a military commander, which shows his power in the conception of a portrait. These are the only two frescoes by him now preserved in his native city. One on the Duomo and two on the Spedale have perished.

* ‘Opera,’ vol. ii. p. 725. Epist. 17, lib. v.

† See E. Förster, ‘Beiträge,’ p. 166, &c.

Of his panel pictures the earliest of note was painted by him, in 1320, for the high altar of St. Catherine at Pisa. This now exists in several portions, some of them in the library of the Seminario Vescovile of old St. Catherine's, Pisa, others in the Pisa Academy. Under the central group of the Virgin and Child is his signature, "Symon de Senis." The graceful and tender type of this painter, as opposed to the masculine vigour of *Giotto*, is peculiarly remarkable in this work.

Another signed picture, of about the same time, was executed for S. Domenico at Orvieto, and is now in the "Fabbrica" of the cathedral. It represents Trasmundo, Bishop of Savona, kneeling before the Virgin with attendant Saints. This was one of the few archaic pictures which made a journey to Paris, and was returned at the Peace. Another altar-piece which, though unsigned, is ascribed to the master, is in the same place. *Simone* is known also as the author of a picture in S. Lorenzo Maggiore at Naples, with St. Louis, Archbishop of Toulouse, crowning his kneeling brother Robert of Naples. This is much injured.

But it is at Assisi that *Simone* must be studied, in his frescoes, where he comes into immediate comparison with *Giotto*. The frescoes in the chapel of S. Martino, executed for Cardinal Gentile, are now, on internal evidence, entirely assigned to his hand. In the vaulting of the arch by which the chapel is entered are eight saints in niches. S. Chiara, and St. Elizabeth of Hungary, with S. Sirus, Rex, and St. Louis of Toulouse on one side; the Magdalen and St. Catherine of Alexandria, SS. Anthony and Francis, on the other. The subjects commence on the left of the entrance in a double course, and represent the history of St. Martin; beginning with the episode of the Saint on horseback cutting off part of his garment for a beggar, and ending with his death and obsequies. These works are fine in intention, especially that of the Saint leaning his head on his hand, while a figure kneels before him. Above the door is seen Cardinal Gentile in frock and cowl, his cardinal's hat on a balustrade behind him. He is being raised by St. Martin from his kneeling position. In the portrait character, and

simple action of these two figures *Simone* is seen to more advantage than in the greater complication of the other subjects.

In 1333, *Simone* completed for the altar of S. Ansano, in the Duomo at Siena, the Annunciation, now preserved, though much injured, in the Uffizi. In the inscription, which gives the date, the name of *Lippo Memmi*, his brother-in-law, is added to his own. As two hands are not discernible in this picture, it is supposed that the ornamental gilded portions were the work of *Lippo*.

It has been seen that the frescoes in the Campo Santo at Pisa, hitherto attributed to *Simone*, are by another and far inferior hand, and, moreover, proved by records to have only been commenced thirty years after *Simone*'s death. His alleged participation in the Capella degli Spagnuoli is now equally set aside. He lived chiefly at Siena, and is known to have acquired competence by his successful industry. In 1338 he was induced, with his wife and brother, to transfer his residence to the Papal Court at Avignon. According to Vasari this removal was attributable to Pandolfo Malatesta, who sent the painter to Avignon expressly to paint the portrait of Petrarch. He, at all events, enjoyed the friendship of the poet at Avignon, and is recorded to have painted the portrait of Laura in a fresco of St. George and the Dragon, once in the portico of the Cathedral, now no longer existing. Other much-injured frescoes still remaining in the Cathedral, and in a hall, and in two chapels of the palace—long ascribed to *Giotto*—are now pronounced to bear the manner of mixed mildness, grace, affectation, and careful, flat execution—with a total lack of perspective—which characterizes *Simone*.*

A small panel picture with name and date, 1342, is in the Liverpool Institution. It represents the Virgin and Joseph with the youthful Saviour at that moment, "Behold, thy father and I have sought thee sorrowing." The heads are of touching expression, and the execution as delicate as the period was capable of. The figures are, however, shorter

* For description of subject see Della Valle, 'Lettere Senesi,' vol. ii. p. 94.



Behold, thy Father and I have sought thee sorrowing."

CHRIST FOUND IN THE TEMPLE; a picture by Simone Martini, in the

Royal Institution, Liverpool

p. 169.

and more overladen than was usual with him.* (See woodcut.)

In conclusion, if it be true that *Simone* painted miniatures from Petrarch's sonnet, as some infer, his manner is believed to be recognised in a MS. Virgil in the Ambrogian Library at Milan.†

Simone died at Avignon in 1344. Two pictures in the Berlin Museum ascribed to him are believed to be by *Lippo Memmi*.

Lippo Memmi laboured in the same Bottega with his brother-in-law, *Simone*. He also executed works at S. Gemignano, the chief of which is a gigantic fresco in the Palazzo del Podestà—the Virgin and Child enthroned under a canopy, with saints on each side, and the kneeling figure of the donor, Mino dei Tolomei. It is inscribed with his name and the date, 1317. It has the further interest of having been restored by *Benozzo Gozzoli*, who has also, in a corner to the right, inscribed his name and the date, 1467. This work partakes of the manner of *Simone Martini* in the flatness and absence of relief, and in the patient labour bestowed on the dresses. The choral books of the Collegiate at S. Gemignano show miniatures which are probably by *Lippo's* hand. He painted also at Orvieto, where a large picture of the Madonna and Saints in the chapel of the SS. Corporale bears a Latin inscription with his name, to the purport that “*Lippo, native of the pleasant Siena painted us.*” A small altar-piece of the Virgin and Child once belonging to Hofrath Forster, now in the Berlin Museum, is signed. According to Vasari, *Lippo Memmi* died in 1356.

Barna ‡ was a painter of Sienese extraction and style, by whom some greatly damaged frescoes at Arezzo and S. Gemignano still survive, the latter representing the life of our Lord from the Annunciation. *Barna* is supposed to have been killed by a fall from a scaffold in 1381. The date is, however, disputed. *Luca di Thomè*, whose name with the date

* See Waagen, ‘Kunstw. und Künstler in England,’ vol. ii. p. 390. In the Crypt of St. Peter's at Rome (the so-called *Grotte Vaticane*) is the altar-picture of the chapel of S. Maria del Portico (a half-length Madonna) also by *Simone*.

† Engraved in Rosini, plate 16.

‡ Rumohr, Ital. Forsch., vol. ii. p. 109.

1366, is inscribed on a Crucifixion in the Academy at Pisa, is believed to be a pupil of *Barna*.

Other painters of a Sieneſe character have left works equally doubtful and frightful. The reader need not be troubled with conjectures regarding their names and histories.

Pietro Lorenzetti, ſometimes called *Pietro Laurati*, ſometimes *Laurentii* or *di Lorenzo*, was the eldeſt brother of the Sieneſe painter, better known than himſelf, *Ambrogio Lorenzetti*. Neither the date of his birth or death are known. He was born towards the cloſe of the thirteenth century—cotemporarily with *Simone Martini*—for he is recorded to have laboured in Siena on a now perished picture called “*La Tavola dei Nove*” as early as 1305. His earlieſt known ſigned altar-piece is dated 1328. It is a Madonna, almoſt life-ſize, with four angels, between SS. Anthony and Nicholas, in the little church of S. Anſano, outside the Piſpini Gate of Siena. This picture, with two fragments in the Siena Academy, and eight ſmall panels in the Muſeo Criſtiano of the Vatican, ſhow a painter of an energy rivaling the Florentine ſchool. A great work executed by *Pietro* in conjunction, according to a recorded ſignature, with his brother *Ambrogio*, on the Spedale at Siena, repreſenting the Marriage of the Virgin, exiſted up to the year 1720. That work was dated 1335.

A picture inſcribed “*Petrus Laurentii de Senis*,” dated 1340, is in the Uffizi. Another, in better preſervation, ſigned but not dated—an altar-piece in compartments with pinnacles—is in the Pieve of Arezzo. This is a fair ſpecimen of his feeling for light and ſhade, and energy of line.

As reſpects that originality and power which overleaps conventions *Pietro Lorenzetti* is moſt characteriſtically ſeen in a ſeries of freſcoes in the north tranſept of the lower church at Aſſiſi, which occupy the ſide and end walls, and the ceiling. Theſe repreſent the hiſtory of our Lord, beginning with the entry into Jeruſalem. The ſtrong individuality of theſe freſcoes, the realiſtic episodes, ſuch as in the Laſt Supper; the vehemence—frequently the ugliness of the motives—though otherwiſe bearing evidence of a Sieneſe character

—all combine to assign these works to *Pietro Lorenzetti*, which hitherto, on Vasari's authority, have been given to *Pietro Cavallini*.

The works in the Campo Santo already described (p. 149), including that of the Hermits on the south wall, always known as his, with more grand efforts of dramatic force, ascribed until now to *Orcagna*, are the crowning evidences of *Pietro's* genius. In the Hermit fresco especially his feeling for nature in the actions both of men and animals is of a high order. He is known to have resided chiefly in Siena, and to have been married, and it is surmised that the plague of 1348 ended his life as well as that of his brother.

Of this great painter, *Ambrogio Lorenzetti*, but little is known. Neither the date of his birth or death have been ascertained. The first record of his life belongs to the year 1324. Among his earliest productions were the frescoes representing the life of a Saint which covered one side of a cloister in S. Francesco at Siena, executed in 1331. The only relics of them are two fragments recovered from whitewash, and moved from the wall into the second chapel of the same church. Little more than the outlines are seen, which give no real estimate of the master's powers. Other works of an important character, recorded as by his hand, both in Siena and Cortona, no longer exist. Two small predella panels in the Uffizi are all that remain of an altar-piece representing the legend of St. Nicholas, which is known to have borne his signature and the date 1332.

From 1337 to 1339, *Ambrogio Lorenzetti* was engaged on his chief work, which happily still exists. This consists of three vast frescoes in the "Sala delle Balestre," in the Palazzo Pubblico at Siena, which represent by rather complicated allegories, assisted by inscriptions, the results of Good and Bad Government. The first of the three is mutilated by a door which cuts into the right corner. Here, an enthroned male figure, holding a sceptre in one hand and a large seal in the other, symbolizes the Government of Siena. Peace, Fortitude, and Prudence, sit on one side, Magnanimity, Temperance, and Justice, on the other. Above, hover Faith, Charity, and Hope. A line of figures representing the

twenty-four Counsellors, and evidently of a portrait character, are connected by a rope which is held by the enthroned personage on the one hand, and by a graceful figure of Concord on the other, who is again connected by the rope with allegorical forms above her (see woodcut). Men on horseback are on each side, and the figure apparently of a donor holds a tower. Captives are seen on the right hand. The figure of Peace, her foot on a helmet and shield, is full of grace; that of Fortitude is also good. On a narrow border is the inscription "Ambrosius Laurentii de Senis me pinxit utrinque."

On the second wall, are the results of Good Government, a busy scene which shows the arts and trades, the business and pleasures of old Siena. It is a glimpse of life in the fourteenth century. The tailor is seen in his shop—the teacher with his class; graceful figures of dancing girls are in the centre of the foreground—a lady and gentleman on horseback; some are hawking, others shooting with the cross-bow. All declares prosperity and peace, and a graceful genius flying by the entrance tower is inscribed "Securitas."

On the third wall are the signs of Bad Government, with Tyranny pre-eminent, treading on Justice, and surrounded by all the evil passions which bad governors entail. This is assisted by numerous inscriptions, but is too much ruined to reward study.*

These frescoes, viewed as a whole, place the art of *Ambrogio* on a high level for his time. In 1342, he completed the picture of the Presentation in the Temple, now in the Accademia at Florence, but so much injured and restored that the signature and date have become the most interesting part.

Bartolo di Maestro Fredi is the name of a Sienese painter who executed works in S. Agostino at S. Gemignano, the remains of which have lately emerged from whitewash. A Descent from the Cross at Montalcino also exists in the sacristy of S. Francesco. This bears the remains of an inscription giving his name and the date, 1382.

* A drawing of these frescoes when in a better state is in the possession of Count Pieri at Siena.

Andrea Vanni is another Siennese—born 1332—who worked with the last named, and stands much upon a par with him in the rude and tasteless imitation of the comparatively great masters who preceded them. A remnant of a fresco by him is in the chapel of St. Catherine in S. Domenico at Siena. *Vanni* is known as the correspondent and adorer of St. Catherine of Siena, the Dominican Nun. Recent researches have elicited more records of his life than of his art; the man being, as it appears, equally uninteresting in each.

Taddeo di Bartolo was a painter who supported the Siennese school by his energy and ability, though he did not raise it above the standard of the *Lorenzetti*. He was born about 1362. The earliest example of his art is an altar-piece—the Virgin and Child enthroned, with a glory of seraphim—painted for S. Paolo of Pisa, signed and dated 1390. This is in the Louvre. In 1395 he completed an altar-piece of the Virgin and Child and saints for the Sardi and Campigli Chapel in S. Francesco at Pisa. He followed up this work in 1397 by painting the walls of the same chapel for one Donna Datuccia, the representative of the Sardi family. These have been lately relieved of their whitewash, revealing inscriptions which give the above facts. These frescoes are chiefly dedicated to the life of the Madonna, and though much injured and colourless, show spirit and originality. In the Visit of the Apostles to the Virgin—a legendary event recorded to have happened at her death—the figures around her, and those who are descending miraculously through the air, are full of animation and fine action.

After these works at Pisa, *Taddeo* is found at Siena, where from 1400 to 1401 he undertook considerable works in the Palazzo Pubblico. These have perished. Nine, however, out of twelve small panels, illustrating the sentences of the Creed, still exist in the 'Opera' of the Duomo. They are interesting for their animation and fine drapery. Like most painters of all times, he filled a small space with better success than a large one.

A colossal Crucifixion now in the female ward of the Spedale of Siena corroborates the last remark.

Taddeo laboured also about this time at Montalcino and at

S. Gemignano. In the Palazzo Commune of the last place are two altar-pieces by him, originally executed for the Cathedral. In 1403 he was painting at Perugia, where he executed a Virgin and Child with two angels and St. Bernard—signed and dated—now in the Accademia of that city. A Descent of the Holy Ghost, also signed, and dated 1403, is still in the church of S. Agostino, for which it was painted. These works belong to *Taddeo's* prime. The heads in the first mentioned have great depth of expression and the draperies are in good style. In the Descent of the Holy Ghost, figures under life-size, "an oppressed sensation is well imagined."*

In 1406 he was engaged by his fellow townspeople in Siena to repaint the chapel of the Palazzo Pubblico, and authorized to destroy all paintings previously existing there. It is known that he was bound to execute the commission within a few weeks. The works are, nevertheless, imposing in character, though much injured and restored. They represent, as at Pisa, the Life of the Madonna. A deep sincerity of feeling pervades this series, especially that of the Death of the Madonna, where Christ, attended by Seraphs, descends and takes her by the hand, while he receives her soul in the form of an infant. The chapel is unfortunately very dark, so that a favourable day is necessary to do any justice to these works. Seven years later *Taddeo* painted a hall annexed to the chapel with the heroes, statesmen, and writers of antiquity, standing in niches, in illustration of the qualities supposed to preside over the administration of Justice in the Sala del Consiglio, to which this hall led. On the capital of one of the arches inside the chapel is an inscription with the name of *Bartolo* and the respective dates—1407 and 1414—of each portion of the work.

Meanwhile he had laboured at Volterra, where a large altar-piece in a Gothic frame, consisting of numerous pieces all on a gilt ground, still exists in the Duomo. It bears the following inscription:—"Taddeus Bartolus de Senis, pinxit hoc. 1411." "The expressions of the Madonna and Child and of all the Saints are *very fine* and solemn, and quite come

* Memorandum by Sir C. L. Eastlake, Perugia, 1856.

up to Rumohr's description, not of this picture, but of other early works remarkable for depth of feeling. More than fifty years later pictures were produced in Florence, Venice, and elsewhere, which are far inferior to this in truth of expression and action." *

There is little in public galleries that can be with certainty ascribed to *Taddeo*, and although he is reported to have painted at Arezzo and at Padua, nothing existing in either place can be identified as his. He died in 1422.

The mode of conception proper to the Sienese school as seen in the chief painters described may be characterized as remarkable for depth of feeling rather than for originality of composition. The expression of grace and tenderness was even exaggerated to affectation, while in the overlaid ornament and antiquated motives the school adhered to traditions of Byzantine art.

With *Taddeo di Bartolo* the fourteenth century may be said to close. The influence of Siena is strongly seen in Pisa, though the painters produced there were of very secondary rank. *Martino di Bartolommeo*, a Sienese; *Gregorio Cecehi*, of Lucca, adopted son of *Taddeo di Bartolo*; *Turini Vanni*, by whom an inscribed picture exists in the Louvre; *Jacopo di Michele*, known by the name of *Gera*, and others of still less note, appear in the Academies of Pisa and Siena as feeble imitators of *Taddeo di Bartolo*. Upon the whole, Pisa claims no native painters of any power; her sole title to a place in the chronology of art being derived from her early sculptors.

Domenico di Bartolo, erroneously called the nephew of *Taddeo di Bartolo*, but who appears to have been unrelated to him—his real name being *Domenico Bartolo Ghezzi da Asciano*—belongs to the Sienese school of the fifteenth century. In a few inscribed and dated panels—one of 1433, in the Academy of Siena, another of 1438, in a convent at Perugia—he appears as a weak and unattractive painter, deficient in colour, balance and perspective; whose name is given to a number of works of the same tasteless type found in public and private collections. He is known to have covered the Sacristy of the Duomo at Siena with frescoes, now perished,

* Memorandum by Sir C. L. Eastlake, Volterra, 1857.

and he is still seen in the much-injured Works of Merey in the Hospital "di S. Maria della Seala" at Siena, most of which were completed in 1444. These are heavy and tasteless productions, chiefly illustrating the total decline of all excellence.

The history of the republic of Siena in the fifteenth century was not favourable to the development of art, and while the painters were as numerous as they were mechanical, no great man arose to shake off the trammels of traditional errors. *Lorenzo di Pietro* was a cotemporary of *Domenico di Bartolo*. He practised almost all branches of the arts, and exhibits a type of decrepitude in his figures and faces which may account for the name of *Vecchietta* given him by his cotemporaries. Remains of frescoes by him, recently released from whitewash, in the Palazzo Pubblico and in the Sacristy of the Hospital, are seen at Siena. Two statues by him, one in the Loggia della Mercanzia, and a bronze Christ by his hand, dated 1479, adorn the high altar of the Spedale. These, his last works, sufficiently show the low place he occupies. *Vecchietta* was also an architect and an engineer, known for his designs and models of fortresses, a fact hardly compatible with any but the most mechanical habits of art. This versatility of power, or, more truly, variety of handicraft, belonged to those periods when art, however grandly represented by a few gifted men, was scarcely more than a trade with various branches, in all of which the apprentice was expected to be equally well versed. There can be no doubt that this much overpraised readiness to undertake any work that came within the range of the *bottega*, or workshop, contributed, in inferior hands, to keep art at a low level, and even in the persons of the most gifted, interfered with their productiveness.

Stefano di Giovanni, more known as *Sassetta*, takes us back to an earlier time in Sienese art. He belongs to the fourteenth century, and his art would be hardly worthy of record, for he was little better than a tame repeater of worn-out types, did he not lead to men of more note. His principal scholar was *Ansano di Pietro Mencia*—born 1406, died 1481—who, had he not been so overpoweringly

prolific, might have taken a higher place, for while his frescoes are as flat and tapestry-like as those of *Simone* and *Lippo Memmi*, he improved on the types of his predecessors in the softness of his expressions, and is unrivalled in the delicacy of his patterns and glories. Nevertheless, the name of the 'Angelico da Siena' usually given him is only relatively true in his position as compared with the works of some of his cotemporaries. A Virgin and Saints now in the Siena Academy, inscribed "Opus Sani Pietri de Senis 1443," is by his hand. A fresco of the Coronation of the Virgin, in a room on the ground floor of the Palazzo Pubblico at Siena, is the most important of his works. A long inscription, at the base, ends with his name and the date 1445. There are no less than forty-seven pictures by *Sano di Pietro* in the Sienese Academy, the most successful of which is an Assumption of the Virgin, dated 1479. His works are scattered over the Sienese territory and are to be found in most public and private collections in England and on the continent.

Matteo di Giovanni di Bartolo, called *Matteo da Siena*—born about 1435, died 1495—was considered the best Sienese painter of his time. In the absence, however, of the higher science of art, for which the religious sentiment pervading the Sienese school supplied, as time progressed, an increasingly inadequate substitute, he falls immeasurably short of his Florentine cotemporaries. His expressions are solemn and sweet, with pale and delicate colour; his female saints are pleasing, and his delineation of the Infant Saviour may be called beautiful. The altar-piece at Siena, called the 'Madonna della Neve,' a legendary subject, executed for the brotherhood of that name, is an interesting example of his art. 'The Madonna and Child,' both fine in character, are surrounded with angels bearing vases filled with snow, while others higher up are making snowballs. St. Peter and St. John Evangelist are below, standing; S. Lorenzo (of fine character) and St. Catherine of Siena, kneeling. The pavement is in good perspective; the action of the Madonna and of some of the angels is very agreeable. In the predella, the subject of the snow falling (in August) is very pleasing. Inscribed "Opus Matei di Senis. 1477."*

* Memorandum by Sir C. L. Eastlake, Siena, 1856.

A later picture, of the same year (see woodcut), of St. Barbara enthroned, with her tower, with attendant angels, and SS. Catherine and Magdalen standing, is in S. Domenico, Siena.

This painter is, however, most known, though not most favourably, by his pictures of the Murder of the Innocents—a subject which he repeated several times. One is on the altar of a chapel in S. Agostino, Siena; a second in the Concezione, Siena; a third in the Naples Museum. The two first mentioned are different compositions. This class of subject lay entirely beyond his powers: the actions are violent and ill-understood, and the expressions grimacing, though that of Herod is successfully cruel. The large size of Herod's figure was a traditionary practice. The lunette in the Concezione picture is one of those quiet compositions which do justice to his merits. A Madonna subject in the Sienese Academy,* No. 175, is also a favourable specimen. The works of *Matteo* are numerous.

At the close of this group we introduce two masters, both monks, who, it is true, belonged almost exclusively to Florence, but who so combined the intensity of expression and the idealizing aim of the Sienese school with the conception of form belonging to the Florentine, that the first may be almost said to be predominant in their works. Both, although cotemporary with the great innovations of *Masaccio*, adhered in essential points to the types of the fourteenth century.

The one is the Camaldolese monk, *Don Lorenzo*, called *Il Monaco*, who resided in the monastery 'degli Angeli' at Florence. The date of his birth is unknown. A picture at Empoli, assigned to *Gentile da Fabriano*, bearing date 1404, has now been pronounced the work of *Lorenzo*. His chief work, of the year 1414, is an altar-piece in the abbey of Cerreto, not far from Certaldo.† The subject is a Coronation of the Virgin, surrounded with angels, and with several rows of kneeling saints upon a gold ground. The predella pictures contain an Adoration, and on each side the acts of St. Benedict. The execution is very careful, the colouring clear and har-

* Engraved in Rosini, pl. 58.

† See 'Kunstblatt,' 1840, No. 2: Notice of *Lorenzo*, by Gaye.

monious, but the nude very defective, and the drapery slight and conventional. In the predella pictures there is much to remind us of *Taddeo Gaddi* and *Spinello*. In the landscape background, also, and in the more real and natural conception of the subjects, we see a compliance with the style of the fifteenth century, though the principal picture still retains the old and solemn arrangement of a more ideal school. An Annunciation in S. Trinità at Florence exhibits, it is true, that widely adopted form of composition which had almost become a type of the subject, but departs from it in the soft mode of execution, and in the tender and mild expression of the heads. The pictures of the predella are similar in conception and subject. A Descent from the Cross in the Florentine Academy, and other pictures, are of less importance.

The other painter and monk to whom we have referred is one whose name is suggestive of the holiest ideas and gentlest forms that religious art has bequeathed. *Fra Giovanni da Fiesole*, surnamed the *Angelico*, and designated by Lanzi as “un Beato dell’ ordine Domenicano,” was born at Vicchio, a village in the territory of Mugello, not far from Vespignano, the birth-place of *Giotto*, in 1387. His baptismal name was *Guido*, which he changed for *Giovanni* on entering the Order of the Dominicans in 1407 at Fiesole. The convent was only founded in 1406, and was soon involved in religious disputes which drove the monks and novices first to Fuligno, and thence to Cortona, whence they returned to Fiesole in 1418. No record remains of *Fra Angelico*’s instructor, and it may be assumed that he had passed his apprenticeship in art before joining the Order.

In considering the art of this great master it is apparent that an unvarying principle guided his career from first to last. An intensity of religious feeling, unprecedented in this form of expression before or since, inspired his pencil. Lessons in faith, and examples in holiness were always his aim, and he sought to invest the forms in which these were given with the utmost beauty and purity. The most delicate and cheerful colours, like spring flowers, are selected for the draperies, and a profusion of golden ornaments lavished over the work—every auxiliary within the range of his art being

employed to give fresh charms to these sacred subjects. With a deep respect for prescriptive authority, he adheres scrupulously to traditional types, and ventures on none of the innovations already becoming familiar in Florentine art. His personal sanctity is recorded to have been entirely consistent with the tenor of his art, and the odour of it must have lingered tenaciously in Florence when Vasari, more than a hundred years later, drew his picture in words rarely bestowed on man: "The life of this really angelic father was devoted to the service of God, the benefit of the world, and duty towards his neighbour. . . He shunned the worldly in all things, and during his pure and simple life was such a friend to the poor that I think his soul must be now in heaven. He painted incessantly, but would never lay his hand to any but a sacred subject; he might have had wealth but he scorned it, saying that true riches were to be found in content. He might have ruled over many, but would not, saying that obedience was easier, and less liable to error. He might have enjoyed dignities, but disdained them, affirming that the only dignity he sought was to avoid hell and gain heaven. He was wont to say that the practice of art required repose and holy thoughts, and that he who would depict the acts of Christ, must learn to live with Christ."

He is said never to have commenced his work without prayer, and to have been frequently interrupted by tears while representing the sufferings of the Redeemer.

Fra Angelico's first efforts are believed to have been in the illumination of religious books, and the exquisite finish, clear, sweet colour, and also the flatness of his style, point to this early practice. But in truth the language of his art was suited to his aim, and though he had faults, too easily seen and criticized, yet the style of the Frate is entitled to that definition which characterizes excellences in whatever stage or form of art, viz., that it suggests no want. Fewer defects would have derogated from his special beauties. In his own path he was as extraordinary a painter as ever lived. Such scientific qualities as breadth of light and shade, rapidity of movement, and accuracy of anatomy were not given to or sought by him; he is therefore timid and weak in all de-

terminated action, and defective in knowledge of the human structure, but that finer science, most calculated to assist his spiritual aim—the science of the varieties of human expression—he may be said to have been the first to feel and to develop. Nor does he essentially fail in any of the great principles of art, for while pre-eminently the father of expression he also excels equally in harmony of lines in composition, and of colour, and in beauty of drapery.

There is a certain affinity between his works and those of *Lorenzo Monaco*, who has been conjectured to have contributed to the Frate's education. But a greater identity of form and technical process is observable between *Fra Angelico* and *Masolino da Panicale*, who were nearly cotemporaries, and both issuing from the school which arose under *Antonio Veneziano*. The intensely subjective character of *Fra Angelico's* art points, however, to no exclusive master or school, though showing characteristics which bear witness to his local propinquity to the works of *Orcagna*. All the sweetness of that early Florentine, who, as we have said, combined the Giottesque and Sienese feeling, was carried to its extremest purity by the Dominican monk. The slender and graceful proportions of the figures in the Strozzi chapel find their counterpart in those of *Fra Angelico*, who endowed them with his exquisite refinement, while he robbed them of their grandeur and severity. As far therefore as internal evidence may be accepted, the Frate's education may be said to have been derived from *Masolino* on the one hand, and from *Orcagna* on the other, while his own mind furnished that which is independent of influence.

The earliest works of the master were executed in Cortona, and such as were in the form of frescoes perished by the hands of the French with the convent walls they adorned. Movable altar-pictures still remain in S. Domenico, and in the church of the Gesù (at Cortona). The Virgin and Child enthroned, with four saints and two angels on each side, and numerous medallion subjects in the architectural frame, is in S. Domenico. A large picture of the Annunciation, a subject peculiarly congenial to his feeling, and often repeated by him, is in the Gesù. Here the landscape with the expulsion of

Adam and Eve in the upper left corner is, according to Sir C. L. Eastlake, "perhaps the best existing by the painter." A long predella in seven compartments, also in the Gesù—the Life of the Madonna—is full of his most refined characteristics. These and another predella series of the Life of St. Domenick, also in the Gesù, were doubtless executed in Cortona before 1418. To the same period belongs the picture of the Madonna and Saints in S. Domenico in Perugia; the figure of St. Domenick is here especially fine. The names of the saints are here inscribed in their glories, a retention of an earlier practice. Several smaller works, formerly inserted in the frame of this picture, are in the sacristy of the same church. Two circular medallions of the Annunciation are especially attractive.

No chronology of the Frate's works after his return to Fiesole has yet been ascertained. The date, however, of one of his best known pieces, the Virgin and Child surrounded with an arch of twelve angels—two of them in attitudes of praise, the others playing on musical instruments—now in the Corridor of the Uffizi, has been discovered. This was executed for the company of the "Linaiuoli" in 1433, and with its predella and wing pictures forms perhaps the most exquisite work by his hand.

It is supposed that the eight panel pictures containing thirty-five subjects which ornamented the presses of the Annunziata, now in the Accademia at Florence, were executed at Fiesole. They represent the life of Christ. The accompanying woodcuts give a fair idea of four of the subjects. In the Judas receiving the Money the master's power over expression, even of an evil kind, is too delicate to bear translation. But this series has been atrociously injured, and several of them are evidently not by his hand.*

The Accademia also contains the Descent from the Cross, one of those pictures of which a writer,† speaking of *Fra Angelico*, says "They make us forget that they are art." The expressions and actions of the numerous figures are the most

* Ses Noechi's Outlines, traced from the originals.

† 'Leben und Werke des Fra Giovanni Angelico da Fiesole. Mit 22 Abbildungen.' Von Dr. Ernst Förster. Regensburg, 1859.

ECCE VIRGO CONCIPIT ET PARIT FILIUM VOCABIT NOMEN IIVS EMANVL. VSA. VI. C



ECCE CONCIPIES IN VTERO PARIES FILIUM VOCABIS NOMEN IIVS EMANVL. LVCE. I. C

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THE ANNUNCIATION : by Angelico da Fiesole.—One of the panel compartments from the
presses formerly in SS. Annunziata.

p. 182. No. 1.



THE FLIGHT INTO EGYPT, by Angelico da Fiesole, one of the panel compartments
from the presses formerly in the SS Annunziata

p. 182, No. 2.



JUDAS RECEIVING THE MONEY.



CHRIST'S ENTRY INTO JERUSALEM; by Angelico da Fiesole. Panel compartments from the presses formerly in the SS. Annunziata



appropriate and therefore touching with which painting has invested this subject. A Gothic Italian frame is richly studded with smaller pictures—bust and full-length figures of saints,—among which SS. Peter and Paul may be instanced.

The Last Judgment was a subject to which the master especially devoted himself. There are several examples of it. Two are in the Accademia, Florence; one in the Corsini Palace, Rome; one, only partly by his hand, in the Berlin Museum; and one, which is considered the finest, formerly in the Fesch Gallery, is now in the possession of Lord Dudley.* No painter has been so fitted to cope with this great theme; whether we consider the dignity of the Judge and of the Celestial hierarchy with which tradition has invested the scene, or the conception of that ineffable bliss, which is foreshadowed as much as told in the countenances and actions of the Blessed. Genuine “airs from Heaven” pervade that happy side where angels lead the long-tried denizens of earth—chiefly poor friars—in harmonious measures; one angel even gracefully jocund, as it heads the dance with arm gently a-kimbo. Nor are the still human conditions of the Redeemed omitted. Nowhere has a painter so touchingly illustrated the mourner’s watchword “meet again.” The first glance of the rising Dead falls on those near and dear who have gone before, and greeting looks and gentle caresses do all that pious art may do to reconcile the apparent mystery of ardent human hearts and spiritual conditions. As for the horrors of the other side, more repugnant of necessity to the true painter than even to the spectator, *Fra Angelico* only obeyed the prescriptive ideas of the Roman Church. It is questionable, however, whether he profaned his hand by taking any part in their execution; they were probably, as with *Orcagna* and others, the work of a subordinate.

We must say a few more words upon the subject of *Fra Angelico*’s angels, which are the purest type to which imagination has consented. By no other hand are these

* On the previous vicissitudes and acknowledged merits of this picture, see Speth, ‘Die Kunst in Italien,’ 1819, vol. i. p. 214, note; and vol. iii. p. 133. A sixth Last Judgment, of small dimensions, discovered by Sir C. L. Eastlake at Ravenna, was lost at sea in 1860.

beings of another sphere depicted so genuinely as the gentle guardians of man. Whether seen, as described, in the Last Judgment, or surrounding the Lord in glory, as in the predella in the National Gallery, or singly, as in the Uffizi picture before mentioned, or isolated, as in two exquisite little panels in the Turin Gallery, they have invariably what may be called an angelic propriety and individuality which take the feelings captive.

The works which decorated S. Domenico at Fiesole may be supposed to have been executed while the Order remained there, viz. between 1418 and 1436. An altar-piece of Virgin and Child, with four male saints, is still in that church. It has been cruelly damaged and repaired: its chief distinction consists in the predella formerly attached to it—our Lord in Glory, surrounded with angels, prophets, saints and martyrs—now one of the chief ornaments of the National Gallery. The figure of our Lord here is a specimen of the paralysis which befel the pious master's hand when dealing with a subject beyond all human conception. It is like a vacuum in the picture, offering nothing for the imagination to fasten on.

The Coronation of the Virgin (see woodcut) now in the Louvre* was also painted for S. Domenico at Fiesole. This was among the pictures abstracted by the French. It was so little valued equally by plunderers and plundered that the Tuscan Government grudged the expense of its restoration to Florence, and the French Government banished it to the Garde Robe, where it was ticketed as a "coloured drawing." It is now acknowledged to be one of the prizes of the Louvre collection.

But we must follow the master to his convent of S. Marco in Florence, where the Order were finally installed in 1436, and where the mind of the artist is best understood in works in fresco which remain in the positions for which they were designed, and still serve their original purpose there. The walls of S. Marco are a very museum of *Fra Angelico*—cloisters, refectory, chapter-house, guest-room, corridors,

* 'Mariä Krönung und die Wunder des heiligen Domenicus nach Johann von Fiesole; gez. von W. Ternite, mit Text von A. W. von Schlegel.'



CORONATION OF THE VIRGIN AND MIRACLES OF ST. DOMINIC.

A picture by Angelico da Fiesole, now in the Louvre.

p. 184.

stairs, and not less than nineteen or twenty cells, bear witness to a skill and leisure alike obsolete. Only the most remarkable can be mentioned. The Annunciation, a scene divided into two by a centre column, with an arched arcade and garden, in an upper corridor. The Crucifixion, with St. Domenick embracing the cross on the wall opposite the entrance to the church. St. Peter Martyr, in a lunette over the door leading to the sacristy, with finger on lips expressing the obligation of silence. The Pilgrims at Emaus, two Dominicans detaining the Saviour under garb of a pilgrim, over a door where pilgrims of old were welcomed. The large Crucifixion, with the three Crosses, and twenty-five figures of saints and prophets, life-size, below, representing the Adoration of the Cross, surrounded with an arched framework with medallions containing heads of the chief members of the Order, in the Chapter-house. In addition to these and many more, are the touching and edifying compositions with which a long succession of lonely monks have consorted, one in each humble cell; prominent among which are the Transfiguration, with our Lord's arms extended horizontally; the Agony in the Garden, with the Disciples sleeping, but with the Maries (with a feeling no other painter has had for them) seen within a room, praying. The Bearing of the Cross, with St. Domenick and the Virgin attending. Christ being nailed to the cross, a reminiscence of an earlier age, and never so ideally given; and finally, two magnificent scenes, the Coronation of the Virgin and the Adoration of the Kings; the last, in one of the cells supposed to have been built for the use of Cosmo de' Medici, who contributed munificently to the erection of the convent. All these works have been, till a comparatively recent time, subjected to the utmost neglect and injury, and several now serve little more than to illustrate the fact that the feeling which flowed from the mind of the saintly monk clings indelibly even to the faintest shadow of his original work. Some fine frescoes by him have even been destroyed to make room for later painters of legendary subjects.

A similar fate befel the frescoes executed by the master in the transept of the church of S. Maria Novella, which were seen and described by Vasari, and destroyed since.

This church, however, retains three reliquaries which represent on a small scale the very quintessence of *Fra Angelico's* powers of expression and colour.

In 1445 our artist undertook a journey to Rome by invitation of Eugenius IV., where he painted the chapel of the Sacrament in the Vatican, afterwards demolished by Pope Paul III. The death of Eugenius seems to have set the painter free to repair to Orvieto, where he executed in the chapel of the Madonna di S. Brizio—in the cathedral—three triangular compartments containing the Saviour with angels, saints and prophets, intended for the upper part of a Last Judgment. *Benozzo Gozzoli*, of whom we shall speak further, was his pupil here, and the work was completed by *Luca Signorelli*. In 1447, the master was recalled to Rome, where, Pope Eugenius having meanwhile died, Nicholas V. employed him to decorate the chapel in the Vatican that bears his name, with the lives of SS. Stephen and Lawrence.* This chapel was for centuries consigned to oblivion, so that Bottari, in the last century, the door not being discoverable, made his entrance by a window. Here the story of the two Saints are seen in a series on three of the walls, that of St. Stephen occupying the upper course. Our woodcut gives an example of two of the subjects. Scenes from each life have also been engraved by the Arundel Society. A Descent from the Cross by the master, above the altar, is still covered with whitewash. These frescoes evince a dramatic power hardly exercised by the master before, and show that in his 61st year he was in the vigour of his art.

Fra Angelico died at Rome in 1455, and was buried in the church of the Minerva, where his recumbent effigy, with epitaph, may still be seen.†

The brother of *Fra Angelico*, *Fra Benedetto*, also of the

* 'Le Pitture della Cappella di Nicolo V., opere del Beato Gio. Ang. da Fiesole, dis. ed inc. da Fr. Giangiacomo. Roma, 1810.'—See D'Agincourt, plate 145.

† His epitaph, which is in Latin, may be thus rendered :

"Let me not be praised that I was another Apelles,
But that I gave all gains to the children of Christ.
Some works are for Earth, others for Heaven :
The flower of Etruria's cities bore me, Giovanni."



ST STEPHEN PREACHING , a fresco by Angelico da Fiesole, in the
Vatican Chapel of Nicolas V



ST. LAWRENCE ; a fresco by Angelico da Fiesole, in the Vatican Chapel of Nicolas V

same Order, was an industrious miniaturist. The choral books in St. Marco, and also in the cathedral at Florence, are by his hand, which bears a certain similarity to that of his brother. It has been surmised that he assisted *Fra Angelico* in the frescoes at S. Marco. Such portions therefore as are inferior may have been the work of *Fra Benedetto*, who died in 1448. He had been for three years superior of the Dominicans at Fiesole.

CHAPTER III.

SCHOOLS OF UPPER ITALY.

IN Upper Italy, as in Tuscany, a new tendency in art commenced with the fourteenth century. Coeval with the forms of the Gothic style we now observe the expression of the feelings, a more or less animation of the figures, and a totally new and dramatic mode of treatment. The first appearances of these novelties in art may be considered as local and independent developments. Soon, however, the influence of *Giotto* began to act upon them, impelling the schools of Upper Italy to efforts on which the impress of his mind is clearly exhibited.

An originally independent school presents itself in Bologna, where a transition from Byzantine restraint to a certain feeling for nature is seen in the first half of the fourteenth century. It has been usual to attribute the origin of this movement to one *Franco Bolognese*, mentioned in Dante's 'Purgatorio' (xi. 83), and now, on the authority of Vellutello, a Lucchese commentator on Dante of the sixteenth century, believed to have been a pupil of *Oderisio* of Gubbio, whom Dante denominates

"l'onor di quell' arte,
Ch' alluminare è chiamata in Parisi."—('Purgatorio,' xi.)

The reputation of *Franco Bolognese* has rested hitherto on a dated and signed picture in the Ercolani gallery at Bologna. This inscription is now pronounced to be false. "The style of the picture, where not restored, belongs to

about the year 1400.”* *Franco Bolognese* must therefore henceforth, unless a genuine specimen be discovered, be left out of account.

More is known of the works of the Bolognese *Vitale*, who, from his frequent pictures of the Virgin, obtained the name of “*dalle Madonne*.” Two works by him, signed and dated, the one 1320, and the other 1345, have come to light, the first, now in the Bolognese Gallery; the second, engraved by D’Agincourt (plate 127). Another signed “*Vitalis de Bononis, f.*” is in the Museo Cristiano of the Vatican. He is a painter of soft and tender aim, in the manner of the early Umbrian school, but of second-rate power.

A follower of *Vitale*’s manner, is one *Andrea of Bologna*. In a picture of rude execution of the Virgin and Child in the church del Sacramento at Pausola, near Macerata, believed to be by him, he signs himself, “*de Bononia natus Andreas fatus, A.D. 1372.*” But no work by him appears in Bologna.

Another follower of *Vitale* more worthy of record, was the Bolognese, *Lippo di Dalmasio*, who obtained the same surname of “*dalle Madonne*.” A specimen with a genuine inscription, “*Lippus Dalmasius, pinxit,*” but undated, long existed in the Ercolani Gallery, Bologna, and is now in the National Gallery. It represents the Madonna and Child in a circle, and is distinguished by great tenderness of action; “the brown half-lights and whitish lights in parts are like *Signorelli*.”† This painter was born about 1376, and his will is dated 1410. One of his best works is a fresco noticed by Vasari on the arch above the portal of S. Procolo at Bologna—the Virgin and Child between SS. Sixtus and Benedict. Another fresco, visible until 1859, in S. Petronio, Bologna, with the inscription “*Lippus Dalmasius, pinxit 1407,*” has been lately whitewashed. The gold embroideries and profusion of ornaments in all these painters shows the influence of the Sienese and Umbrian schools. A missal of the year 1374, in the Munich Library, is adorned with miniatures by a certain *Niccolò da Bologna*.

The Ursuline nun, *Beata Caterina Vigri*, is by some numbered among the scholars of *Lippo Dalmasio*, though her

* Memorandum by Sir C. L. E., Bologna, 1861.

† Ibid.

works belong to the middle of the fifteenth century. The galleries of Bologna and Venice each contain specimens of her art, representing St. Ursula, and inscribed with name and date. They are pleasing but weak performances of a Siennese character.

The influence of the second-rate followers of *Giotto* is seen in the productions of *Simone da Bologna*, called "*dei Crocifissi*." Instead of the somewhat affected delicacy of the artist just named, his figures are masculine, coarse, and heavy. Two of his crucifixes remain; one inscribed with name, and dated 1370, is in the chapel 'della Croce' in S. Giacomo Maggiore in Bologna; the other, also signed, is kept under glass in the fourth church of S. Stefano, Bologna.

Cristoforo da Bologna, so called, was cotemporary with *Simone*. A panel with Crucifixion and Entombment, signed "Xpoforus fecit," is in the Costabile Gallery at Ferrara. Other works of the same character, also in that collection, and a Crucifixion in the public gallery at Ferrara, make it probable that he belonged to that city.

Jacobo degli Avanzi is known by a Crucifixion in the Colonna Gallery, Rome, signed "Jacobus de Avacius de Bonomia, f." This shows a painter of great exaggeration and feebleness. He is recognised also in the Bologna Academy.

Most of the artists just mentioned, *Vitale*, *Simone*, *Cristoforo*, and *Jacobo degli Avanzi* are recorded to have decorated a church at Mezzarata, originally called 'Casa di Mezzo,' with Biblical frescoes—according to Vasari, completed 1404—of which fragments only exist, and those not of a character to repay much interest.* They may be generally said to bear the impress of Bolognese art at the close of the fourteenth century.

Another *Jacobo* must be mentioned, if only to distinguish him from the *Jacobo degli Avanzi* just recorded. This is a third-rate artist, who signs himself "Jacobus Paulus, f." on the upper course of a large altar-piece in the S. Croce Chapel of S. Giacomo, Bologna, which, in other respects, is Venetian in character, and far superior.

The name of *Petrus Joannis* is attached to a fresco of

* See engraving of altar-piece by *Cristoforo*, D'Agincourt, pl. 160.

some attraction in the court of the convent of S. Domenico, Bologna. No other work is known by his hand.*

This list may be closed by the name of *Michele di Matteo*, or *Michele Lambertini*, a later Bolognese, by whom inscribed pictures of little interest exist; one is in the Bologna Academy, dated 1422, or 7.

Tommaso da Mutina (Modena) is, by the fact of his signature, pronounced to be a Modenese, belonging to the fourteenth century. He is the first painter of any note who arose there; at the same time his art may be called a mixture of the Bolognese and Gubbian School. He is a second-rate painter, with all the defects of his time. A picture in six parts in the gallery of Modena is so damaged and overpainted, that little opinion can be formed of it. In 1457, *Tommaso* went to Prague, where he was employed by the Emperor Charles IV. to decorate the castle of Carlstein. Two pictures on panel, still in the chapel of the castle—one a much-injured *Ecce Homo*—with a number of small figures in the frame, are by his hand. A Virgin and Child between SS. Wenceslaus and Palmasius, with a curious inscription including his name, is now in the Belvedere Gallery, Vienna; half length figures.† To this same *Tommaso da Mutina* may be ascribed with much probability a picture in the altar-recess of the St. Catherine's Chapel at Carlstein—the Madonna between an Emperor and Empress—a picture of great sweetness, especially as regards the principal figure, the head of which partakes more of the Sienese character. A very carefully executed *Vera Icon*, of mild expression, in the Cathedral of Prague, is also considered the work of this painter.

Another Modenese artist, *Barnaba da Modena*, was contemporary with *Tommaso*. A half-length Virgin and Child in the Städel Institut, Frankfort, is inscribed "Barnabas de Mutina 1367." "This is uglier than *Cimabue*, with blue

* According to Lanzi, a certain *Lianori* subscribed himself "*Petrus Johannis*." '*Storia Pittorica*,' v. 5, p. 17. A picture in the gallery at Bologna, which bears the inscription "*Petrus Lianoris*, p. 1453," does not at all coincide with the style of the above-mentioned frescoes: it is hard and severe.

† D'Agincourt, pl. 133, fig. 1.

half-tints and remarkable lights in flesh, apparently projecting from violence of gradation, like excrescences; in this respect contrasting with the flatness of early works."* Another inscribed work—a Virgin and Child—is in the Berlin Museum. He is believed to have lived a great part of his life in Piedmont, and two of his altar pieces are in S. Francesco at Pisa.†

Serafino de' Serafini of Modena was a weaker artist than the foregoing. He adhered more to the Bolognese school. His name and period, 1385, are fixed by an inscription on a Coronation of the Virgin in the Cathedral of Modena.

Early painters of Ferrara are scarcely entitled to mention, affording little more than a list of antiquated names. The Ferrarese school is surmised to have taken its rise contemporaneously with that of Venice, and to have been derived from a Greek painter settled in that city. *Gelasio di Niccolò*, *Antonio Alberti da Ferrara*, and *Laudadio Rambaldo*, are names attached to decaying frescoes mostly of a low Giottesque character.

As regards the school of Pistoia the early annals scarcely even offer certain names.

Incomparably more important in the history of art are the group of painters who flourished at Padua in the fourteenth century. Indeed, it may be truly said that, with the exception of Tuscany, no city or district of Italy possesses such excellent wall-pictures of that period. Padua was at that time governed by the Carraras, a race distinguished for their love of art, though the principal means of its encouragement may be traced to the church containing the body of St. Anthony, for the decoration of which the highest artistic power was called into requisition.‡

At the same time it must be admitted that this older school of Padua was essentially an offset from the Florentine. If *Giotto* be the great leader at Florence, he must also be con-

* Memorandum by Sir C. L. E., Frankfort, 1858.

† See for specimens both of *Tommaso* and *Barnaba da Modena*, D'Agincourt, pl. 133.

‡ We are indebted for our information on this subject chiefly to a series of treatises by E. Förster in the 'Kunstblatt,' 1837, Nos. 3 to 17, and to an article upon *Giunto Padova* in the same, 1841, No. 36.

sidered the same here, where he is represented by one of his grandest works—the frescoes in the chapel of the Arena. His followers here were also not all natives of Padua—certainly not the most distinguished of them—and they differ so much among each other in style, that beyond the foundation, for which they were all alike indebted to *Giotto*, no other common feature can be said to characterize the school.

In the first place it is very doubtful whether *Giotto*, upon the completion of the frescoes in the chapel just mentioned, after 1303, left any immediate scholars in Padua. The history of Paduan art is silent from that time till the period of *Giunto Padovano*, described in Crowe and Cavalcaselle as *Giusto di Giovanni*, of the Menubui family of Florence, whose only authentic picture bears the date 1367, and who was besides a Florentine by birth. This picture, in the possession of Prince Friederich von Öttingen Wallerstein, is a small altar-piece with wings; the centre picture containing the Coronation of the Virgin, with angels and saints—the inner side of the wings, the Annunciation, Nativity, and Crucifixion—the outer side, the history of the Virgin to the time of her marriage with Joseph. The whole indicates a follower of *Taddeo Gaddi*, whose style of conception is here united with great softness of forms, powerful shadows, and a fuller arrangement of drapery. Other works hitherto ascribed to *Giunto* have been now assigned to two painters called *Giovanni* and *Antonio da Padova*. Nothing certain, however, is known of them, and the question whether the great frescoes in the baptistery of the Cathedral at Padua (founded 1380, by Fina Buzzacarina) and those in St. Luke's Chapel in the Santo (church of S. Antonio), founded about 1382, were the joint work of the three, or executed by *Giunto* alone, must remain open. As regards the Baptistery, the symbolic arrangement of subjects usual in edifices dedicated to this rite is seen here in great perfection. In the cupola we perceive Christ with the Virgin, with five circles round them, consisting of cherubs, angels with musical instruments, patriarchs and apostles, prophets and martyrs, the Fathers of the Church, and lastly a numerous body of saints. Then, in a lower circle beneath the cupola, the events of the Old Testament to the time of Joseph

—in the pendentives of the cupola the four Evangelists; and finally, upon the walls of the church, in several pictures, the histories of Christ and of the Baptist, with various fantastic representations from the Apocalypse. But the painter or painters were not equal to the undertaking, and in point of picturesque composition, animation of single figures, drawing, and character, we may reckon this work as one of the most inferior attempted by *Giotto's* followers. The paintings in the chapel of St. Luke (a canonised monk) are better, chiefly referring to the legends of this saint and of the Apostles James the Less and Philip. At all events, however rude in point of artistic feeling, they contain many good and lively motives, and that consistent distribution of shadow which also pervades the frescoes of the Baptistery. The Crucifixion of St. Philip near Hierapolis contains, for example, a well-understood group of plebeian assailants, who, with some figures better clad, are throwing stones. A third work, formerly ascribed to *Giunto*, which has perished, deserves mention for the subject's sake. These were the frescoes of a chapel of the church degli Eremitani, representing the Liberal Arts under the figures of those individuals distinguished for them; the Vices, by a series of portraits of those noted for their practice; ending with a circle of pious Augustin monks.

Cotemporary, however, in Padua with *Giovanni* and *Antonio*, had now arisen that painter, who, with the exception of *Orcagna*, must be considered as the worthiest follower of *Giotto*. This was *D'Avanzo Veronese**, who, with his (probably somewhat older) fellow-artist *Aldighiero da Zevio*, began the decorations of the Cappella S. Felice, in the church of S. Antonio, in 1376, and those of the Cappella S. Giorgio, in the space before that church, in 1377. With the works of the masters before mentioned—the authors of the works just

* *D'Avanzo* has been hitherto mistaken for a Bolognese, having been confounded with *Jacobus Pauli*, or *Jacobo d'Avanzo*, already mentioned. But the remains of an inscription in the Cappella S. Giorgio lead to the supposition that Verona was the birthplace of *D'Avanzo*—a circumstance which must not lead to the second mistake of confounding him with a certain *Jacobus of Verona*, an insignificant and mechanical artist, who executed an Adoration of the Kings, now in the Pisani palace at Padua. *Zevio*, *Aldighiero's* birthplace, lies near Verona.

described—these last have nothing in common beyond the general groundwork of style, and the aim at a more complete system of modelling; otherwise they stand to them in the relation of artists to artisans.*

The Capella S. Felice contains a series of frescoes, representing scenes from the legends of St. James the elder, and, in three divisions on the principal wall, a large Crucifixion, all arranged in a peculiar manner, resulting from the form of the architecture. The seven first pictures appear to be by the hand of *Aldighiero*. These are compositions full of life and expression, of powerful and decided drawing, and rich in characteristic motives. *Giotto's* dramatic mode of conception is adopted here with much spirit. In that picture, for instance, where St. James is instructing those who have been led away by the magicians, the various scenes of the listening crowd, of the plotting magicians, and of the final destruction of these latter by fiends, are combined in the most masterly manner. In the next scene the Saint is advancing with the utmost energy to anathematise the fiends, while the Jews are seen conspiring together to effect his overthrow. And thus the narrative continues to unfold itself with a clearness, a decision, and a plastic completeness, surpassed by no other examples of the school of *Giotto*. The fourth picture is especially fine—the landing of the body of St. James on the Spanish coast. The body of the Saint is laid upon a stone on the sea-shore, in front of a castle, while every action of the attendants bespeaks the deepest respect and sympathy. An angel is holding the rudder of the vessel (see woodcut). In these pictures the painter has succeeded in the most difficult artistic efforts; in that, for instance, of representing a knight plunged in a river and attempting in vain to climb the high shore, with many others of the same kind.

* The respective claims of *Aldighiero* or of *D'Avanzo* to the highest place, and the right adjustment of their works, are debated points with connoisseurs. Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle have not solved the question, though they have spared no pains in the attempt. As respects the chapel of S. Felice, formerly S. Jacobo, it appears from documents that the payments for the wall-pictures were made to *Aldighiero*. In the absence of greater certainty, the excellent description by Kugler has been adhered to. In admiration of the art of S. Felice connoisseurs are unanimous.



THE LANDING OF THE BODY OF ST. JAMES, fresco by Aldighiero in the Cappella
S. Felice of St. Anthony's Church, Padua.

While *Aldighiero*, on the one hand, like the other followers of *Giotto*, adhered still more than that master to the general appearances of life and character, and indulged to a greater extent in the habit of individualising, *D'Avanzo*, on the other, remarkable as he was for a decided similarity to the style of *Aldighiero*, exhibited that totally new direction of thought which soon led to a thorough transformation of the school which *Giotto* had formed. This transition is analogous in nature with that which we perceive in the cotemporary school of Cologne, though ascribable to totally different causes. Every figure, considered separately, which had hitherto, under a generalised aspect, only taken its place as part of a whole, was now recognised as possessing an independent interest. It is remarkable to observe how the predilection for individuality of character now began to keep pace with the attention to the general conception of the subject, and perhaps, in some respects, outstripped it. This is immediately apparent in the next picture, where the body of St. James is being carried into the castle of the Countess Lupa.* Here the actions and gestures of the people crowding round the vehicle are given with the utmost minuteness of detail. The other pictures are less distinct and successful in composition, and also, in part, over-painted. The large Crucifixion, on the other hand, in three compartments divided by pillars, afforded the artist ample field for the exhibition of his peculiar gifts; and we here trace new and animated motives, easy movements and positions, soft and beautiful forms, and above all, a thorough carrying out of these qualities into the minutest details. We observe, moreover, an admirable understanding of character, especially in the expression of sorrow and anxiety. The general conception is not particularly grand or poetical, owing perhaps to the unfavourable form of the spaces. One novel feature is the group of spectators returning from the Crucifixion.

But *D'Avanzo's* style of conception is seen to incomparably more advantage in the frescoes of the Cappella S. Giorgio.†

* For the legend of St. James the Elder see Mrs. Jameson's 'Sacred and Legendary Art,' 1848, vol. i. p. 208.

† These frescoes, which for more than a century had been covered with dust and consigned to oblivion, were brought to light, in 1837, by Dr. E.

These consist of twenty-four large pictures, representing the youthful history of Christ, the Coronation of the Virgin, the Crucifixion, and the legends of St. George, St. Lucy, and St. Catherine.* Formerly the roof was also decorated with the figures of the Prophets. *Aldighiero's* portion in this series is contradictorily described by the various authorities, and cannot be pronounced upon with any certainty.* The principal part, however, may undoubtedly be considered to have been the work of *D'Avanzo*.

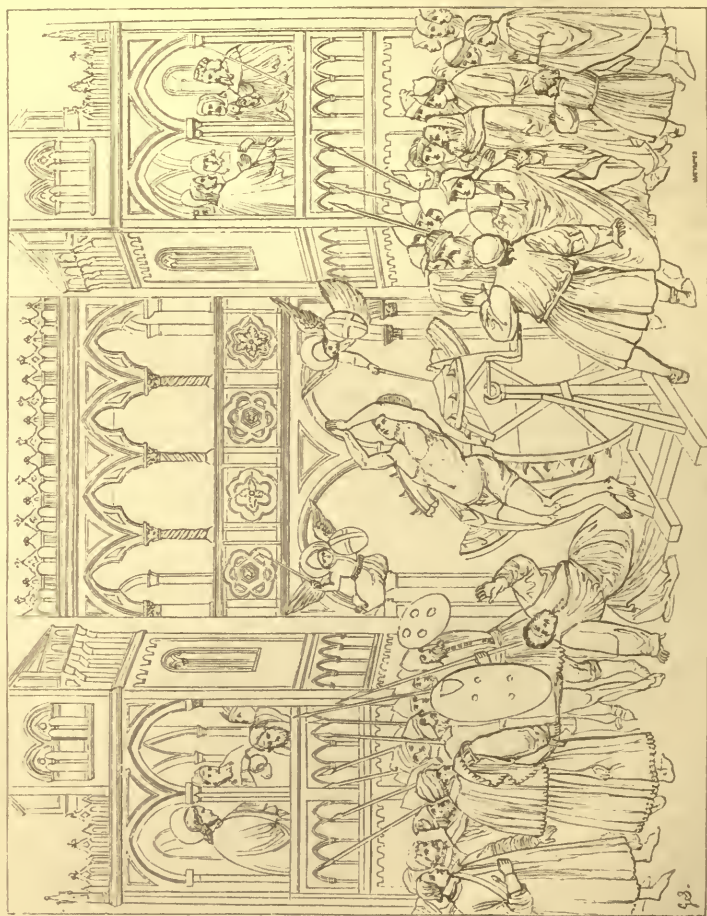
Upon the whole, we may consider the painter of these works to have been the first among his cotemporaries for fulness of dramatic power, though he aimed less than they at scenes of violent action. *Giotto* and his followers looked upon the surface of their pictures as a field requiring to be filled with the utmost possible variety of life; and as the higher understanding of landscape and architecture—in short, as the artistic completeness of the subject to be represented by means of outer accessories was beyond their power, they instinctively endeavoured to supply it by accompanying the chief personage with a numerous retinue of figures, who, by their interest in the subject, helped to explain it. *D'Avanzo's* understanding of landscape and perspective is far more matured. At the same time he retains the *Giottesque* mode of conception, but animates it afresh with a depth and variety of character peculiar to himself. In his compositions most crowded with figures, the principal idea, the moment of action, is always clearly and forcibly developed; in this he was assisted by a gift of expression and a knowledge of form such as no painter had ever previously combined. The picture of the Crucifixion (on the altar-wall) is superior in every respect to that in the chapel of S. Felice, displaying in its separate groups a modification of the various modes by which a participation in the principal event is usually expressed, such as scarcely any other Crucifixion picture ex-

Förster, who, assisted by the proper authorities, cleaned and restored them. See 'Wandgemälde der S. Georgen Kapelle zu Padua,' by Dr. E. Förster, with 14 plates. Berlin, 1841.

* Vasari's authority on this subject (see 'Life of Vittore Carpaccio') is not entitled to the least respect. Among other mistakes, he makes out *Aldighiero* and *Zevio* ('Sebeto') to be two different painters.



Fresco by D'Avanzo, in St. George's Chapel, Padua.



Fresco by D'Avanzo, in St. George's Chapel, Padua.

hibits. The head of the dead Saviour is especially fine—here the painter has aimed far more to give the expression of divinity than that of the languor of death. Among the pictures on the entrance wall, the Adoration of the Kings is the composition most distinguished as combining the greatest richness with the discreetest regularity. In the Flight into Egypt, the smiling countenance of the Virgin, with the Child looking gaily upwards, has a peculiar charm. Here, as in the same subject by *Giotto*, the scene is enlivened by several other figures. The legendary subjects on the side-wall contain also a perfect treasury of new and animated features. The baptism of the heathen king and his people combines again the greatest fulness with the clearest unity. The Saint is baptizing the monarch, while his family kneel around with an expression of eager expectation. Fresh spectators are hurrying to the spot, and even a couple of children are trying to find a space behind a pillar where they can witness the scene. In the succeeding pictures, St. George forms an excellent contrast to the magician his persecutor, who stands lurking by, while the saint, with a cheerful countenance, empties the cup of poison. The subject of his martyrdom is also admirably given. The Saint lies in prayer, extended upon the wheel, the iron bars of which have just been broken by two angels to the terror of all present, in whom the varieties of expression are powerfully given (see woodcut). The scene takes place in the court-yard of a palace. The four pictures containing the legends of this saint are in a bad state of preservation, and were probably executed by some assistant, though the invention may be *D'Avanzo's*. The finest is the parting between two philosophers condemned to death. On the other hand, the pictures which represent the history of St. Lucy are well preserved, and of the highest order. The second of them represents the miracle of several soldiers and six oxen trying in vain to move the Saint from her place. Here the singularity of the subject is forgotten in the great merits of the mode of representation: the Saint is standing looking up to heaven in the attitude of the grandest repose, surrounded by a crowd of excited spectators, some of whom are appealing to

the prætor, while the others exhibit the greatest alarm and perplexity of mind.

In both these cycles of pictures the subject did not allow the master the exercise of that grandeur of allegorically expressed thought which inspired *Giotto* and *Orcagna* in their highest productions. Nor is the painter to be compared with either of those in higher poetical conception, in power, elevation, and fulness of idea. On the other hand, he equals them in unity and roundness of composition, and surpasses them and every other cotemporary in all that belongs to picturesque completeness; and this in so remarkable a degree, that he must ever be considered a most extraordinary painter for the fourteenth century, and as one forming an early transition to the style of the fifteenth. He it was who (with *Fra Angelico*) first arrested the forms of special expression without departing far from the general and the ideal on the one hand, or degenerating into portraiture on the other. Devotion, resignation, wonder, and terror he expresses with equal perfection, and that not only by the play of the features, but by the whole attitude—by the hands and the position of the knees. In the expression of malice only he has not been successful, as we see in the Crucifixion in the chapel of S. Felice; not that he degenerates into caricature, like other masters of the time, but subsides rather into something unmeaning and insipid. The heads of his holy personages are one and all of a grand style of beauty; and if, in respect of knowledge of the human form, and in the disposing of drapery, he made no particular progress, the century is, at all events, indebted to him for that power of modelling and gradation of tones which may be considered as his second great excellence, and which *D'Avanzo* alone in those times so developed. For though it was not till several years later that *Masaccio* defined the true principles of these qualities in art, yet, by a happy empiricism, *D'Avanzo* brought the thing itself to light, while the other followers of *Giotto* continued to be satisfied with a mere general indication.

Endowed with this power of individuality, and assisted with his improved modes of art, this painter now advanced a step which places him far beyond all his predecessors. In

his works are seen the first attempts at optical illusion, and this is the important point at which he was joined by the later Paduan school of *Squarcione* and *Mantegna*. This, it is evident, had long been the object of his thoughts and efforts. In the Crucifixion in the chapel of S. Felice, and in many of the pictures we have named, we recognise partial attempts and experiments in this department. The last picture, however, in the history of St. Lucy of Syracuse is the first in which he attained any great result, and this alone would have served to throw off the forms of the *Giotto* school, had the efforts of *D'Avanzo* been followed by those of any immediate successors. The picture contains, like many others of his, a double representation of the subject. In the vestibule of the church, behind, we see the mortally wounded saint in the act of receiving the Host, while in the foreground the body lies upon a decorated bier, surrounded by sorrowing men and women. Here the drawing is not only more correct, the colouring finer and more lively, and the execution more finished than in the other pictures, but the power of individualizing is carried further. The architectural perspective, also, which, in his other productions, is treated with more care than in any other cotemporary work, is here brought to a certain completeness; the figures are rightly softened according to their degrees of distance, and those standing behind are divided from those in front by a slight tint of air.

Other works by *D'Avanzo*, in which perhaps his new tendency may have been more fully developed, have now perished; for instance, two symbolical triumphal processions in the palace of La Scala at Verona, and some "*Sposalizj*" in the house of Count Serenghi, also at Verona, which are reported to have been full of contemporary costumes and portraits.

There is no evidence to show that *D'Avanzo* exercised any influence upon his fellow-painters. *Hubert van Eyck*, who in 1377 was still a boy, and *Masaccio*, who at that time was not born, were left subsequently to re-discover those secrets in art which he had already practised. Least of all was he imitated or studied by the Paduans themselves. We need

quote only two large works of the beginning of the fifteenth century which repeat the style of *Giotto* in the most vapid manner. One of these consists in the frescoes which adorn the cupola and walls of the colossal saloon, or *Sala della Ragione*, at Padua. Formerly, the invention of this work was assigned to the celebrated magician, Pietro di Abano, and the execution to *Giotto*; now, however, there is reason to believe that the whole was painted after 1420, and by a certain *Giovanni Miretto*. It is one of the most difficult works of art existing to explain. Nothing but a correct knowledge of the astrological systems of the fifteenth century could furnish the key, and much, even under these circumstances, must remain for ever incomprehensible. Here we find the influence of the stars upon the seasons and upon the affairs of men symbolized in a row of nearly 400 pictures, arranged side by side, or one above the other, and in no way divided into any surveyable order of arrangement. Various human achievements and events are thus treated, from their very nature, in the true *genre* manner, although the mode of representation adheres strictly to the style of *Giotto*. Besides the allegorically personified months, planets, &c., we also perceive the figures of the Apostles, of the Virtues, a colossal St. Mark, and many others.* The forms are throughout general and insipid, and even the better figures, as for example the Apostles, are mere repetitions of well-known types. Every part also has been repeatedly over-painted.

The second work alluded to are the wall-paintings in the choir of the church of the Eremitani (Padua), believed to be by one *Guariento*—1330 to 1336—a native of Padua, who spent much of his time in Venice. Christ is here represented as the Judge of the World, with the Apostles, three and three, on each side; then the Fathers of the Church, the Prophets, the histories of the Apostles Philip and James the Less, four subjects from the legends of the Augustine Order, with many others, all of inferior artistic value, and most of them over-painted. The best preserved are the figures of the planets in *chiaroscuro* along the walls below, which here, as in the *Sala*, are con-

* For a further account of these strange pictures, which we cannot enter upon at greater length, see E. Förster, 'Kunstbl.', 1838, No. 15.

nected with the affairs of human life in some inexplicable way.

A Crucifixion by *Guariento* exists in the Pinacoteca at Bassano, signed with his name and a long inscription. He is supposed to have flourished as early as 1316, and to have been buried in S. Bernardino. He shows no trace of *Giotto's* influence, or, indeed, of the revival of art even under *Cimabue*.

Verona, of which, as we have already stated, *Aldighiero* and *D'Avanzo* were probably natives, possesses a considerable number of wall-paintings of the fourteenth century; for example, those in the Presbytery of S. Nazzaro, in S. Anastasia, in S. Zeno, and in other places; chiefly figures of saints of a statuesque character, agreeing more or less with the Florentine principle of style. In the frescoes by *Stefano da Zevio* (over a side door of S. Eufemia, and in a recess on the outer wall of S. Fermo) warmth of colouring is combined with some grace. A similar style is displayed in an altar-piece, now in the gallery of the Council Hall at Verona. It bears the inscription "Opus Turoni, 1360," and represents the Trinity, with the Coronation of the Virgin and various saints on the sides.

Other cities of northern Italy have been searched in vain for early works of any interest; such vestiges as survive show generally a very low stage of taste. *Michele di Ronco* and *Michelino* are names of Milanese artists which Vasari seems to have confounded. The former lived between 1366 and 1373,* the latter belongs to the fifteenth century. *Michelino* was noted for representations of animals. A book of drawings of animals by him is recorded as belonging to the Casa Vendramini at Venice.† He is also the author of some curious frescoes of family groups in the costume of their time in the Casa Borromeo, Milan. A later Milanese, of whom only one work has survived, and that in Naples, bore the name of *Leonardo di Bissuccio*. This specimen consists in the paintings of the octagon monumental chapel of Sergiani Carracciolo (seneschal and lover of the younger queen Joanna), behind

the choir of S. Giovanni a Carbonara, built 1433. Above the entrance-door is seen, on a colossal scale, Christ crowning the Virgin, both enfolded in the arms of the First Person of the Trinity, and surrounded with angels. Below, to the left, are several members of the Carracciolo family, and next the door, in a circular form, the portrait of the Seneschal naked, as he was found after his murder. Other parts of the chapel contain scenes from the Life of the Virgin, an Annunciation, and several single figures of saints. The whole style is essentially Giottesque, but the form and expression of the heads is sweeter, especially of the angels, which recall *Fra Angelico*. The portraits are individual in character, the arrangement of the whole simple and grand.*

Fragments of wall-paintings in the vaulted ceiling of the transept of the cathedral at Cremona are by a rude hand, but curious as regards costume. They are assigned to one *Polidoro Caselta*, who lived 1345.

In Parma also the walls of the Baptistery are covered with rude productions to which the name of *Bartolino da Piacenza* is attached; and in Piacenza itself there are wall paintings, and a picture in eight compartments in S. Antonio, which are assigned to that painter.

In the Province of the Friuli the façade of the Cathedral of Gemona was covered with frescoes of the life of St. Christopher, signed *Maguta Nicolaus*—now destroyed. The same hand is seen in an elaborate and curious fresco in the church of Venzona, five miles from Gemona.

Venice now claims attention. She may be said to have been, as regards art, a Byzantine colony. Everything in this peculiar city bore so Oriental a character that it is easy to understand how her people adhered to that which the dawning taste of other parts of Italy had thrown off. Thus established and fed—for Venice continued to keep up her relations with the East—she offered a strength of opposition to the new tendencies in art such as they had encountered in no other parts of Italy. From the middle of the fourteenth

* See Passavant, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der alten Malerschulen in der Lombardei*—‘*Kunstbl.*’ 1838, No. 66, and following numbers. An inscription leaves no doubt of the name and origin of the master.

century, however, the partial introduction of these innovations, though under different forms and combinations, could no longer be impeded. None of those grand allegorical subjects, none of those profoundly pensive poems with which the school of *Giotto* decorated whole buildings, are to be found here; even the historical representations are, in point of character, of inferior order, while the altar-pictures retain longer than elsewhere the gilt, canopied compartments and divisions, and with them the tranquil position of single figures. The development which attended these beginnings, and the form of art which the school was subsequently to attain, was first manifested in the fifteenth century.

We begin with one of the few works of a monumental character, namely, with the mosaics of the chapel of S. Isidoro in St. Mark's (at the end of the left transept, executed 1350). The principal features of the Gothic style predominate here almost exclusively, though not accompanied either with the poetic grandeur or the solemn beauty of the better followers of *Giotto*: on the contrary, they combine with careful execution an awkward and unimaginative form of composition. Further examples of this kind are to be found in the Venetian Academy (the Belle Arti); for instance, a large altar-piece consisting of many compartments—the Coronation of the Virgin—by *Niccolò Semitecolo*. This consists of fourteen scenes from the life of Christ (the centre picture by a later hand), and is signed and dated 1351. He is the first representative of this early school, though he shows but little of its dawning qualities. His productions correspond somewhat with those of *Duccio*, though without his excellence, while the gold hatchings, olive-brown complexion, and many a motive are still directly Byzantine. Another altar-piece by him, now divided, in the Chapter House of the cathedral at Padua, with the history of St. Sebastian, is dated 1367. He is known to have lived till 1400. It is a question whether *Niccolò Semitecolo* is not identical with another *Niccolò* by whom a picture, formerly in the Manfrini collection, now exists in the Belle Arti. The subject is a Madonna with the Child, and little angels playing on musical instruments, not without grace, especially in the smooth and almost Sieneſe drapery. The

artist has given the place of his dwelling—"Niccolò, the son of Maestro Pietro, painter in Venice, residing at the entrance of the Paradise Bridge, painted this work in the year 1394,"—thus showing the kind of artist life in a rich commercial city.

Another altar-piece, with the Coronation of the Virgin in the centre, by *Lorenzo Veneziano*, is more indicative of the transition period. It bears the date 1357 or 1367, and though of a very severe style, the heads have a soft expression and the draperies fall in round and easy folds. In some respects we here detect an immediate influence of the Tuscan School. A third altar-piece, formerly ascribed to *Michele Onoria*, now to *Michele Mattei da Bologna* (*Lambertini*), shows a further progress. The centre picture represents the Madonna with saints, with the Crucifixion and the Evangelists above, and the history of St. Helena below. This is much more in the character of the time, with delicate folds, and a light carnation, which, however, still retains something of Byzantine greenness in the shadows. The countenances are delicate, but not of any character.

Another tendency may be traced in Venice about the first half of the fifteenth century. This is a peculiar melting softness, not deficient in dignity and earnestness, which pervades the pictures of that time. The drapery is in those long and easy lines which we see in the Tuscan pictures of the fourteenth century; the colouring deep and transparent, the carnation unusually soft and warm, almost an anticipation of the later excellences of the Venetian school. As early as in a beautiful altar-piece by *Michiel Giambono* (who painted at that time in Venice), representing a Christ and four saints, and now in the Venetian Academy, this tendency is seen in most decided character. The same may be said of *Jacobello del Fiore*, one of whose works, a Madonna, with the date 1434 (in other respects a picture of no interest), is in the Manfrini Gallery at Venice.

But the works in which we see this tendency most completely developed are those of the two conjointly painting artists, *Giovanni* and *Antonio da Murano* (one of the Venetian islands). The last-named belongs to the family of the *Firarini*, whom we shall notice later: the first, from the

frequent addition of *Alamannus* to his name, appears to have been a German. Two excellent pictures by both are in the gallery of the Venetian Academy. The one dated 1440 is a Coronation of the Virgin, with many figures; among them some beautiful boys of earnest expression, holding the instruments of the Crucifixion: around are seated numerous saints, in whose heads we perceive the ideal type of the Gothic style, mingled with signs of individual character, somewhat in the manner of *Meister Stephan* of Cologne (an early repetition of this picture is in S. Pantaleone at Venice, Cappella della Madonna di Loreto). The other piece, dated 1446, is a picture of enormous dimensions, representing the Madonna enthroned, beneath a canopy sustained by angels, with the four Fathers of the Church at her side. Here the Madonna is very graceful, but the four saints, though of dignified character, are all without grandeur, and somewhat prosaically conceived. The colouring is glowing and brilliant, as in the works of *Giambono*. Several fine pictures by both these artists, dated 1445, are to be seen in the inner chapel of S. Zaccaria in Venice. They are of higher and milder expression than those we have described. Among them the altar-piece on the left, with figures of saints, side by side and one above the other, is particularly well preserved. A Madonna enthroned is said to be in S. Fosea.

Finally, we must mention as a masterwork of this old Venetian School the Cappella de' Mascoli in St. Mark's, the walls of which exhibit the Birth, Presentation, Annunciation, and Death of the Virgin; and the waggon roofs the circular pictures of the Virgin and two prophets; all executed in mosaics by the hand of the same *Giambono* just mentioned, and commenced about 1430. While this species of art, on account of its inability to meet the higher artistic requirements of the time, had almost ceased in other parts of Italy, it was destined to attain here in St. Mark's one of its greatest triumphs. It is true that the higher architectural principle which formed the style of the older mosaics is here no longer observed; these being merely historical paintings of a very developed kind, transposed into neat and fine mosaics: but at the same time the order of the arrangement, the beauty and

expression of the forms, the brilliant colours, and the splendid architectural backgrounds—which have the merit of being correct in perspective—raise this work not only above all the other mosaics in the building, but assign to it a high place in the historical painting of the day. The artist, who, in an inscription, expressly declares himself a Venetian, died about 1450.*

How the early Venetian school, however, arrived at this state of development remains still uncertain. We do not here recognise the influence of the school of *Giotto*, but rather the types of the Gothic style, gradually assuming a new character. In respect to the peculiarities of the school, we are tempted to regard them in connection with the social condition of Venice itself. There was something, perhaps, in the nature of a rich commercial aristocracy of the middle ages calculated to encourage that species of art which offered the most splendour and elegance to the eye; and this also, if possible, in a portable form; thus preferring the domestic altar, or the votive picture, to those great and solemn works which contain a whole world of events and thoughts, but in a slighter form of execution. The cotemporary Flemish paintings, under similar conditions, exhibit analogous results. The depth and transparency of separate colours observable in the early Venetian school had been long a distinguishing element in the Byzantine paintings on wood, and may be therefore traceable to this source without our assuming an influence on the part of Padua, through the channel of *D'Avanzo*, or from the North through that of *Johannes Alamannus* (*Gio. da Murano*).†

We must now call the reader's attention to the painters of the March of Ancona and the adjacent districts, the most distinguished of whom stand in closest connection with the Venetian School.

Nothing is clearer than the fact that the Umbrian school

* Compare Zanetti, *Notizie intorno, alle Pitture di Musaico della Chiesa Ducale di S. Marco*: an appendix to his work, '*Della Pittura Veneziana*,' 1771, p. 566.—C. L. E.

† See Venetian prayer-book, with miniatures, executed about 1400, now in the Royal Library at Paris, described by Waagen, '*Kunstw. und Künstl. in Paris*,' p. 321.

took its rise from Sienese examples. This is explained by the geographical position of Gubbio and Fabriano, while the temper of a race more akin to the mercurial Sienese than to the graver Florentine further favoured this origin. A disposition to exaggerate the affectation and tenderness of the art of Siena marks the Gubbian painters and their neighbours at Fabriano: Prettiness was their chief quality—a characteristic destined to contribute by its development in Perugia and Urbino to the greatness of *Raphael*. A smiling gaiety gave charm to their works, which bore at the same time the careful finish and flat brilliancy of miniatures. In Umbria the practice of painting dates from the remotest times; but in Gubbio it would be difficult to assign any name older than that of *Oderisio*, cotemporary of *Giotto* and Dante, and rescued from oblivion solely by that poet.* *Oderisio* is known by records to have been at Gubbio in 1264, at Bologna in 1268, and in Rome in 1295, where he is said to have died in 1299. Vasari is our authority that *Giotto* and *Oderisio* made acquaintance in Rome. Dante's knowledge of him is supposed to have occurred between 1285—7. No certain works by him are known, but there are miniatures in the Archivio de' Canonici of St. Peter's at Rome, which are presumed to be by his hand.

Guido Palmeruccio is another early Gubbian painter, born 1280, died about 1345. Vestiges of a St. Anthony by him are seen on an outer wall of S. Maria de' Laici at Gubbio. A large fresco in the upper chapel of the Palazzo del Comune is an important example of this school of the first half of the fourteenth century. It represents the Madonna and Child, with an aged Gonfaloniere kneeling below, and attended by several saints. This partakes of the character of the *Lorenzetti*. Another fresco recently freed from white-wash to the left of the entrance of S. Maria Nuova—a St. Anthony—shows the type which developed itself subsequently in Perugia.

A list of painters is recorded in Gubbio, which accounts for the now damaged frescoes in the crypt of S. Maria dei Laici, and in S. Francesco at Cagli; but they have little internal interest. Gubbio had also a school of mosaicists.

* 'Purgatorio,' canto xi. v. 79.

We turn to Fabriano, where we are met by the Tuscan influence in the person of *Gritto da Fabriano*, now identified as *Allegretto di Nuzio*. This painter appears on the Register at Florence in 1346. His earliest work is in the Museo Cristiano in the Vatican—a small altar-piece with Virgin and Child and numerous attendant figures, signed and dated 1365. Another altar-piece is in the sacristy of the Cathedral at Macerata, dated 1369. A third, dated 1372, is now in the collection of Signor Romoaldo Fornari at Fabriano. These, with other pictures believed to be by him,* show the connection between the schools of Gubbio and Fabriano which leads up to the superior art of *Gentile da Fabriano*. *Allegretto* is supposed to have died about 1385.

Ottaviano di Martino Nelli † belongs to this district. His grandfather, *Mattiolo*, was a sculptor, his father, *Martino*, a painter in Gubbio. A wall painting by him of the Madonna with saints and numerous angels is preserved under glass in S. Maria Nuova at Gubbio, signed, and dated 1403 (see woodcut). This is a gay mixture of unsubstantial figures on a blue diapered ground, with graceful heads, like a magnified miniature. He is known to have changed his residence from Gubbio to Urbino in 1420, and his works appear also in what was formerly the Trinci Palace, now the Palazzo del Governo, in Foligno, in a series of the life of the Madonna. His powers were mediocre, and though tradition asserts that *Gentile da Fabriano* worked on some occasions with him, yet no surviving picture by *Ottaviano Nelli* is of a class to corroborate this idea. Nothing is known of him after 1444.

Gentile di Niccolo di Giovanni Massi, otherwise *Gentile da Fabriano*, ‡ was probably born at Fabriano between 1360 and 1370, and is asserted to have been a scholar of *Allegretto di Nuzio*. It is possible that in his manhood he derived some useful lessons from *Ottaviano Nelli*, whose style seems naturally linked with *Allegretto's*; but if really a scholar of

* See Crowe and Cavalcaselle, vol. ii. p. 196.

† See 'Kunstblatt,' 1846, No. 59; Gaye, Cartegg. 1, p. 130.

‡ See 'Elogio del Pitt. Gentile da Fabriano, scr. dal Marchese A. Cav Ricci,' Macerata, 1829.

the last named he quickly outstripped him. His manner has an affinity with that of *Fra Angelico*, though on the one hand he has not the deep devotional feeling of that master, while on the other he excels him in a freer conception of the ordinary events of life. *Michael Angelo* is reported by Vasari to have said of *Gentile*, "aveva la mano simile al nome." *Fra Angelico* and *Gentile* are like two brothers, both highly gifted by nature, both full of the most refined and amiable feelings; but the one became a monk, the other a knight. We compare the pictures of *Gentile* to the poems of the Minnesingers: they seem to breathe the joys of spring; they have an air of inexpressible serenity, clouded by no doubt, no anxiety. A childlike delight in splendour and gold ornaments, which in his pictures are both embossed and incised, pervades all his works.* Of *Gentile's* life not much is known. His first patron was Pandolfo Malatesta, Lord of Brescia and Bergamo, for whom he decorated a chapel. He next removed to Venice, where he spent some years adorning the great hall of the Ducal Palace with frescos from the life of Barbarossa, and with other works; all of which have perished. His labours in the Ducal Palace are supposed to have terminated before 1422. A solitary Virgin and Child in the Venetian Belle Arti bears his name, but is heavily over-painted. An Adoration of the Kings painted for the Zen family, and subsequently in the Craglietto collection, is now in the Berlin Museum, where it bears or bore the name of *Antonio Vivarini*. It showed at least the influence which *Gentile* exercised over the opening Venetian school. His residence at Venice is marked by the fact that *Jacobo Bellini* there entered his atelier as a scholar, which led to a friendship between them, and, when *Jacobo* married, *Gentile* held his first child at the baptismal font. The year in which *Gentile* settled at Florence is approximately defined by his entry into the Guild of the Barber Surgeons in 1422.

* The gold decorations of *Gentile*, like those of most of his cotemporaries, are sometimes laid on so thickly as to be in relief—a practice consistent with the nature of such decoration: for as no kind of modelling in light and shade is possible in gold, the effect of such could only be attained by these means, for which, however, it was necessary to view the picture in one particular light.

In 1423 his signed and dated picture, the Adoration of the Kings, in the Accademia, Florence, by which he is now principally known, was executed for the church of the Trinità. This is his best work extant, and in the fulness of the composition and delicacy and richness of treatment we see the poetic naïveté with which the feeling of the period invested this event (see woodcut). The heads are engaging and the features well understood, though the attempts to foreshorten the faces, upwards or downwards, are not successful. The figures, however, are full of high-bred grace. Over the arches which enframe the picture are smaller subjects, and the predella comprises the Nativity, Flight into Egypt, and the Presentation. In 1425, *Gentile* was still in Florence, where a picture so dated was executed for one of the Quaratesi family, and recorded as being in the church of S. Niccolò. The centre has disappeared, but the side panels representing four saints still remain there. The saint on the right has the best head. On the cope of St. Nicholas scenes from the Passion are given with exquisite minuteness. In the same year (1425) *Gentile* was called to Orvieto, where he painted a Virgin and Child on the wall to the left on entering the Cathedral, now under glass, though in its actual state not an attractive specimen of the master. From Orvieto *Gentile* was called to Rome by Martin V., who died 1431. He painted a series of frescoes in St. John Lateran from the life of the Baptist. He also executed a portrait of the Pope with portraits of ten attendant cardinals, and in S. Francesco Romano (formerly S. Maria Nuova) he represented the Virgin and Child, with SS. Joseph and Benedict, which existed in the sixteenth century, but has disappeared since.

At Fabriano there are pictures attributed to him in private houses, but none of sufficient excellence or so well preserved as to do him credit. Pictures attributed to him are scattered in various galleries. A pleasing little picture, the Virgin and Child, with a Malatesta kneeling before them, belonged to the late Mr. Mündler, in Paris.

Francesco Gentile da Fabriano, a follower and by some supposed to be a son of *Gentile*, and *Antonio da Fabriano*, probably also a follower, will be noticed in the ranks of the



WOPVS. GENTILIS. DE. FABRIANO

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Paduan school under *Squarcione*.* Other and more eminent scholars of *Gentile*, such as *Jacobo Bellini* and *Benedetto Bonfigli*, will also be mentioned in their places.

More interesting are the earlier artists, *Lorenzo* and *Jacobo da S. Severino*, the neighbours of *Ottaviano Nelli* and *Gentile da Fabriano*; *Lorenzo*, the elder and more distinguished, forms a link between those two painters. A totally ruined Marriage of St. Catherine, belonging to the Cistercians of S. Severino, bears an inscription which shows *Lorenzo* to have been twenty-six years of age in 1400. Sixteen years later *Lorenzo*, assisted by his brother *Jacobo*, decorated the oratory of S. Giovanni Battista at Urbino with incidents from the life of the Baptist, which, seen as a whole, create a striking impression, though, with the exception of some graceful heads and motives, there is little merit in the composition.†

A second *Lorenzo da S. Severino*, who flourished later, further developed the germs of grace seen in his predecessors. Two examples of his art, the one in the sacristy of a church at Pansola, near Macerata, the other a fresco in the collegiate church of Sarnano, are dated respectively 1481 and 1483. A third, a marriage of St. Catherine, originally at S. Lucia at Fabriano, is now in the National Gallery. He here signs himself "Laurentius II." apparently meaning *Lorenzo* the Second. A picture is recorded to have been painted by this *Lorenzo* as late as 1496.

CHAPTER IV.

SCHOOL OF NAPLES.

GIOTTO, as we have already told, was summoned by King Robert, in 1330, to Naples, where he left the fine work in S. Chiara, still existing, and others elsewhere which have perished. That he exercised a certain influence in the

* See Gaye, 'Zur Kunstgeschichte,' in 'Kunstbl.', 1839, No. 21.

† See Passavant's 'Rafael,' vol. i. p. 426, and further.

Neapolitan territory is evident, but there, as in other parts of Italy, he bequeathed his art to inferior men who followed the letter more than the spirit of the great master. The fourteenth century was there characterised by no works of note. An immediate connection with the style of *Giotto* is only recognisable in the illumination of a manuscript in the British Museum,* executed by order of King Robert, the same monarch who invited *Giotto* to Naples. The illuminations are of a symbolical import, and agree with the school of *Giotto* in the mode of expressing allegorical subjects. We see, for instance, the figures of the seven liberal Arts kneeling before Pegasus, beneath whose hoof gushes forth the fount of song; while Italy, as a weeping female, is standing before the king. The careful execution of this work reminds us so much of *Giotto*, that his personal influence may almost be concluded. The emotions are clearly expressed, the actions unusually lively and speaking. Of especial beauty is the piece in which seven angels are binding the demons. Here we see the happiest aim at grandeur, dignity, and beauty.

Great obscurity prevails as to the early Neapolitan painters. *Simone Napolitano* is one to whom works are attributed indicating a rude imitation of *Giotto*. But his name has been too indiscriminately invoked. In the chapel of S. Antonio Abbate in S. Lorenzo Maggiore at Naples, an altar-piece, representing St. Anthony attended by four saints, has been attributed to him. The art of the work, however, is in keeping with the date, 1438, found upon it. On another and more important work, assigned to him, in S. Lorenzo Maggiore, representing St. Louis of Toulouse enthroned, placing a crown on the head of his brother Robert, the following inscription has come to light, "Symon de Senis me pinxit." Such being the class of evidence on which the fame of *Simone Napolitano* has hitherto rested, it would be rash to dwell on works of a more obscure kind reputed as his. And this leads us to mention another painter till lately supposed to have been his cotemporary. The name of *Colantonio del Fiore* has been invested with the more interest from its supposed connection with the early use of oil

* See Waagen, 'Kunstw. und Künstler in England,' vol. i. p. 149.

painting. This has been deduced from a picture in oil attributed to him, now in the Naples Gallery, representing St. Jerome extracting a thorn from the paw of his lion. But, if such a master ever existed, of which there is no present proof, this picture is certainly not by him. It is now upon convincing reasons assigned to the Flemish school.*

Antonio Solario, called *Il Zingaro*, is another Neapolitan name which has been attached to such pictures surviving in Naples as bore a Flemish impress. His history, as given by native historians and repeated by later Italian authors, is one series of the marvellous in fact, and inconsistent in date. The fact of his having married the daughter of *Colantonio del Fiore* is not confirmed by any reliable record. The pictures assigned to him at Naples and elsewhere are too diverse in period and style to have been the work of the same hand, and some of them are identified by modern connoisseurship as the work of later painters. In the Leuchtenberg Gallery at St. Petersburg he is confounded with his namesake, *Andrea Solario* of Milan. No certain works, as no certain facts, of this supposed master can be given, but it is believed that the frescoes in the court of the monastery of S. Severino, at Naples, are by *Zingaro*. They consist of twenty large pictures from the history of St. Benedict, simple and clever compositions, with no very grand type of heads, but of delicate modelling and good colouring. They are particularly distinguished by the fine landscape backgrounds, a very rare accompaniment to Italian frescoes, and not to be found in such perfection elsewhere at this early period. These paintings unhappily have suffered much, and in modern times have been barbarously retouched.†

Among *Zingaro*'s scholars are classed two half brothers, *Pietro* and *Ippolito Donzelli*, the one born 1451, the other 1455. They are stated to have assisted *Zingaro* in some of the frescoes in S. Severino, the manner of which shows nothing to refute the tradition. But it is now ascertained that both brothers laboured in Florence, where *Ippolito*

* D'Agincourt, pl. 132.

† The series has been engraved: 'Le Pitture dello Zingaro nel chiostro di S. Severino in Napoli, da Stanislao d'Alce,' Napoli, 1846.—C. L. E.

served his apprenticeship to *Nero de' Bicci*. Various panels in the Naples Museum are assigned to them, but, as with those attributed to *Zingaro*, they are all too diverse in style to afford any standard.

Simone Papa the elder is also believed to be a scholar of *Zingaro*, and to have assisted in the S. Severino frescoes. The pictures assigned to him in the Naples Museum have a decidedly Flemish character. In a St. Michael weighing souls between two kneeling donors, attended by their patron saints, the figure of the Archangel is apparently taken from *Memling's* Last Judgment at Dantzic.

Silvestro de' Buoni, *Gio. Ammanato*, and others, are painters of still less importance.

Cola dell' Amatrice, or *Filotesio*, is a dry painter, reputed of Neapolitan origin, who laboured chiefly in Ascoli and its vicinity. His pictures are signed, and their dates extend from 1513 to 1543.

Andrea Sabbatini of Salerno, otherwise *Andrea da Salerno*, is a painter of a superior class. He is believed to have studied art in Naples, and having been struck with the pictures by *Perugino* there, to have started for Perugia, but to have been detained in Rome by his admiration for *Raphael's* productions. He will appear among the followers of *Raphael*.

In Sicily, also, the style of *Giotto* found entrance, and led to further development. This is proved by the deed of the foundation of the Order of the Holy Ghost, 1352,* now in the Royal Library at Paris, which is adorned with miniatures. Though the proportions are long and meagre, the heads are animated, the actions significant and graceful, and the artist's feeling is delicate.

* Waagen, 'Kunstw. und Künstl. in Paris,' p. 319.



BOOK IV.

THIRD STAGE OF DEVELOPMENT.

MASTERS OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY AND THEIR FOLLOWERS.

INTRODUCTION.

IN the first period of reviving art, toward the end of the fifteenth century, it was the aim of the artist to represent the sacred subjects which had been handed down from an earlier age in a lively and impressive manner, and to enlarge the range of such representations in the same spirit. In the second period, his own mind and feelings came forth in free and self-productive energy; he had become conscious of his own powers, of his own privileges; but, for the perfection of art one element was still wanting—the correct delineation of form, guided by the study of nature.

The attainment of this element characterizes the third period, extending from the fifteenth to the beginning of the sixteenth century. The progress that had been made toward its acquisition during the two former periods had been very limited, as regards essentials. The imitation of nature, with a true and artless conception of characteristic moments and circumstances, had been successfully attempted in general respects only. A familiar acquaintance with the laws of form in its various appearances, extending to all its minutest details, was still retarded by the prevailing modes of representation, fettered as they were by prescribed types. The third period is the æra of the emancipation of art in its external relations, as the preceding periods had been of its internal life. In this instance again, the persevering consistency, and even exclusive predilection, with which the new aim was followed up, were calculated to produce peculiar and important results.

CHAPTER I.

TUSCAN SCHOOLS.

WE shall consider the painters belonging to this new period in the detached groups which present themselves in different parts of Italy. And first we turn to Florence, which in this century attained the zenith of her power, and where, under the auspices of the enlightened family of the Medici, the intellectual as well as material interests of the republic attained their highest splendour. Poetry and philosophy, architecture and sculpture, advanced with the art of painting toward the same perfection. A few Florentine artists, who mark the transition from the old to the new manner, first invite attention in the beginning of the fifteenth century; they unite with the still prevailing type of the preceding periods some indications of modelling, and a more correct delineation of form. Especially they show an increasing study of nature and a sense of the true science of perspective.

In these respects *Paolo Uccello*, his real name being *Paolo Doni*, believed to have been the founder of linear perspective, may be first mentioned.* Born in 1396, he was apprenticed to Lorenzo Ghiberti the sculptor, whose maxims of perspective, however inappropriately applied in his backgrounds and reliefs, may be supposed to have led to the profounder study of perspective and foreshortenings which distinguish his former "garzone de bottega." We are not informed who taught *Paolo Uccello*, but his works point to the same source whence *Masolino* and *Masaccio* derived instruction. *Uccello*, however, drew with a hardness of line which reveals a familiarity with the modes of sculpture. Four pictures of battles, on panel, by this master, are recorded by Vasari as having belonged to the Bartolini family at Gualfonda, near Florence. Three of these survive—one in the Uffizi, one in

* *Pietro della Francesca* may be said to have been the real founder of perspective.



HISTORY OF NOAH; a fresco by Paolo Uccello, in S. Maria Novella, Florence.



NOAH'S SACRIFICE, a fresco in S. Maria Novella, by Paolo Uccello.

the Campana Gallery in the Louvre, and the third, and finest, in the National Gallery. This last is a work interesting more for its novel attempts than for its success; showing much truth of action and movement, and one of the earliest aims at strong foreshortenings. His fresco works, the Creation of the World and History of Noah, in the cloisters of S. Maria Novella at Florence, though ruined by weather and neglect, so that where not absolutely defaced they offer nothing more than greenish under-paintings, are full of naturalistic incidents. The scene of the Deluge is comparatively best preserved. Here his mastery over perspective appears in unmistakable excellence, and two foreshortened figures show his pleasure in that novel art. The fury of the wind is also finely expressed (see woodcut). He adheres to tradition in showing not only the dove returning to the ark, where Noah welcomes it, but the raven "which returned not" feeding on one of the floating bodies. The Sacrifice of Noah (see woodcut) in another compartment is remarkable for the foreshortened figure of the Almighty descending with the head from the spectator, which was a startling innovation. It is believed that these frescoes were executed about 1446-8. He is known to have journeyed to Urbino in 1468, and was still living in Florence in 1469. *Paolo Uccello* took great pleasure in the delineation of armour and costume, and studied animals with success. His partiality for the representation of birds is the origin of his name. He was buried in S. Maria Novella.

The name of *Dello* is associated with *Paolo Uccello* in friendship, and, according to Vasari, his portrait is seen under the figure of Shem in the Drunkenness of Noah. He is said to have painted the other and weaker scenes in the series by *Uccello*. No other recorded works by him survive. He is known to have spent part of his life in Spain.

Andrea dal Castagno was born 1390. The son of a peasant, and an orphan from tender years,* he tended the flock of a cousin at Castagno, where, meeting an itinerant painter, he began to trace rude figures on walls. He attracted the attention of Benedetto de' Medici, who sent him to Florence.

* On making a return of his worldly goods in later life, he showed that he knew not even the maiden name of his mother.

Of the commencement of his career as a painter little is known, except that he suffered great poverty. He proceeded evidently from the same school that produced *Paolo Uccello*, and his works display a harsh and coarse energy, in which neither form nor colour offer any attractions. Yet it is evident that he was versed in the true principles of art, as successfully seen in the decorations of a room at the Villa Pandolfini at Legnaia,* which constitute his chief claim to notice. These represent single figures of heroes and sibyls, larger than life, some remnants of which have been transferred to canvas, and are now in the Guarda Roba of the Uffizi. *Andrea dal Castagno* must also take his place as one who studied the nude, however unpleasingly he rendered it; as, for example, in his fresco of the figure of the Baptist in S. Croce. He is recorded as having painted the fallen leaders of the Albrizzi and Peruzzi conspiracy on the walls of the Podestà in 1435, whence he earned the name of *Andrea degli Impiccati*. An equestrian portrait of Niccolò di Tolentino—in chiaroscuro imitation of sculpture—in the Cathedral of Florence, is also his work. He assisted too in the decoration of the Portinari Chapel in S. Maria Nuova (Florence). This connects *Andrea dal Castagno* with an unjust accusation, repeated for centuries and only recently disproved. According to Vasari, *Domenico Veneziano* laboured simultaneously with *Andrea* in that same chapel, and by his possession of the secret of oil-painting so excited the jealousy of *Andrea*, that he waylaid and foully murdered him. The refutation of this story is simply supplied by the registers of their respective deaths, which prove that the victim outlived his murderer nearly four years; and, as a further example of Vasari's reckless inaccuracy, it may be added that, firstly, far from having painted simultaneously in the Portinari Chapel, six years intervened between the end of *Domenico's* labours and the commencement of *Andrea's*; and secondly, that it is very doubtful whether *Domenico* possessed the secret of oil-painting at all—to which subject we shall return.

Andrea died in 1457, and was buried in S. Maria dei Servi.

* See engravings, 'Uomini Celebri,' *Andrea dal Castagno*.

Of *Domenico Veneziano*, hitherto so unhappily connected historically with *Andrea dal Castagno*, neither birth, birth-place, nor mode of education are known. It is possible that he belonged to a Venetian family, for a record of 1439-40* describes him as "*Maestro Domenicho di Bartolomeo da Venezia*," but his works belie any connection with Venetian art. He is first heard of at Perugia, where he appears connected with the fortunes of the Medici. He painted next in Florence, in the Portinari Chapel before mentioned, between the years 1439 and 1445, the records of which show that his apprentice was *Pietro della Francesca*, and his labourer *Bicci di Lorenzo*. These works are no longer in existence, and the only surviving specimens of his art are a pleasing but feeble altar-piece, in tempera, in S. Lucia de' Bardi at Florence, and a transferred fresco, originally on a tabernacle on the Canto de' Carnesecchi, exposed to wind and weather for centuries, and now existing in detached pieces; namely, the Virgin and Child, in possession of Prince Pio, at Florence, and two heads of saints in the National Gallery. Thus the little we possess by his hand gives no evidence of his having been an oil-painter. The picture in S. Lucia shows the mingled influence of *Fra Angelico* and of *Andrea dal Castagno*. *Domenico Veneziano* died in Florence, in 1461.

Alesso Baldovinetti is one of whose art few certain specimens survive, and those much injured. He was born in 1422, and gained a name for the minuteness of his details, and for his attempts to improve the methods used in wall-painting. It is possible that these very experiments may account for the paucity and the state of his works. A fresco by him still exists in the church of the SS. Annunziata, and a much-injured picture of the Virgin and Child with six saints, in the Uffizi. These works are dry, with angular draperies, showing a manner related to that of the *Pollaiuoli*. *Alesso Baldovinetti* died in 1499.

Masolino da Panicale, whose real name was *Tommaso di Cristoforo Fini*, is another link in the development of art. He was born in 1383, and is believed to have owed his instruction in painting to *Starnina*. His name has been chiefly recorded as one of the painters of the Brancacci Chapel

* See Crowe and Cavalcaselle, vol. iii. p. 315.

in the Carmine (Florence), but modern researches have, upon good grounds, robbed him of this credit. On the other hand, he is now known to be the author of a series of frescoes, signed with his name, "*Masolino da Florentia, pinxit*," which have been recently freed from a coating of white-wash, executed for the Cardinal Branda Castiglione. These have come to light in the church of Castiglione di Olona, not far from Milan, between Saronno and Varese. They adorn the space surrounding the high altar, and are believed to have been completed in 1428. They represent the history of the Madonna, and in tenderness of expression and simple grace of lines show that affinity to his cotemporary, *Fra Angelico*, to which allusion has been made. *Masolino* also decorated the adjoining baptistery of Castiglione with the life of the Baptist (see woodcut). These frescoes show a careful study of nature, especially in the heads and extremities, though the type of composition is still that of the fourteenth century. He has, however, little regard for the traditional costume of Scriptural personages, and dresses them in caps and turbans and tight-fitting dresses which somewhat detract from the solemnity of character. Art, in his time, was truly in a transition state, and realistic features were beginning to be attempted which weakened that unity of composition which had been the great characteristic of *Giotto* and of *Orcagna*. *Masolino* died in 1430.

It was reserved for one who is supposed to have been the scholar of *Masolino* to work out those higher principles of composition, the votaries of which appear but seldom. *Masaccio*, or *Tommaso da S. Giovanni*, may be said to have grasped all those true maxims of art which his cotemporaries were variously aiming at, and to have codified and defined them for the benefit of succeeding generations. He was born at Val d'Arno, between Florence and Arezzo, in 1402, and, according to local tradition, displayed an inclination for the arts of design from his tenderest years. His earliest surviving works of note are the frescoes in S. Clemente at Rome, executed for the Cardinal Clemente. They represent incidents in the life of the saint of that name, and of St. Catherine of Alexandria. Though they



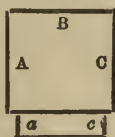
HISTORY OF THE BAPTIST; a fresco by Masolino da Panicale, Castiglione



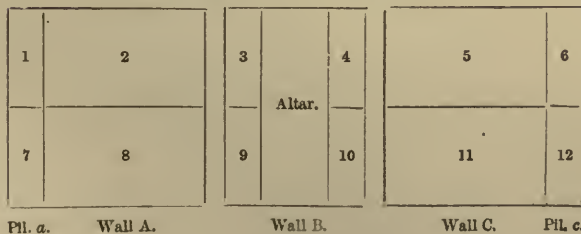
ST. CATHERINE ; a fresco by Masaccio, in S. Clemente, Rome.

have succumbed to the common lot of injury and repaint, they still preserve characteristics which tell a youthful hand of remarkable power contending with the first difficulties of a great undertaking. Correct drawing and perspective are already visible here, and a certain sense of atmosphere, as in the manner in which the figure of St. Catherine is seen detached from that of the enthroned Maxentius (see wood-cut). *Masaccio* is surmised to have returned from Rome to Florence—then only eighteen years old—in 1420. In 1424, he was enrolled in the Florentine Guild of Painters. The consecration of the church of the Carmine took place in 1422, and it is supposed that *Masaccio* laboured on the Brancacci frescoes—the highest monument of his powers—from 1423 to the date of his early death, in 1428. We have stated already that *Masolino da Panicale* is now excluded from all participation in this work, which is pronounced to be entirely due to the hand of *Masaccio*—certain portions only being subsequently added by *Filippino Lippi*.

Before we consider these frescoes more closely, an inspection of the subjoined plan, showing the relative position of these works, may facilitate the explanation of the several paintings on the walls and two projecting pilasters of the chapel.



Ground-plan of the Chapel.



1. Expulsion from Paradise.
2. The Tribute-money.
3. Preaching of Peter (hitherto assigned to *Masolino*).
4. Peter Baptizing.
5. Healing of the Cripple at the Beautiful Gate, and Cure of Petronilla.
6. The Fall of Adam and Eve (hitherto assigned to *Masolino*).
7. Peter in Prison (*Filippino Lippi*).
8. Resuscitation of the King's Son; (a small portion, in the centre of the picture, by *Filippino*).
9. Peter and John Healing the Cripple.
10. Peter and John Distributing Alms.
11. Martyrdom of Peter (*Filippino Lippi*).
12. Liberation of Peter (*Filippino Lippi*).*

These were the works which were the means of introducing a new and marked improvement in the history of art, and which, for a long period, even to the time of *Raphael*, formed the school of the artists of Florence. We observe that in this instance the aim of the artist is not so much to seize and represent correctly a particular event, nor to manifest his own feelings through the medium of the forms and expressions with which he has to deal; in this

* These works, so often referred to by the historians of art, have been variously described. The Tribute Money, No. 2, has been improperly denominated the Calling of Andrew and Peter. No. 9, called by the author Peter and John Healing, &c. (one of the subjects of No. 5), is more probably intended for the Sick and Deformed Cured by the Shadow of Peter (Acts v. 15), here accompanied by John. No. 10 is sometimes called the Ananias; a dead figure lies at the feet of the apostles. No. 8 is sometimes erroneously called Eutychus Restored to Life (Acts xx. 9); the subject is also incorrectly named by the author. The apocryphal incident represented is the following:—Simon Magus had challenged Peter and Paul to restore a dead person to life; the sorcerer first attempted this, and failed (the skulls and bones placed on the ground are part of the machinery of the incantation). The apostles raise the youth. (See the 'Aurea Legenda,' chap. 44, and the 'Historia Apostolica' of Abdias, where the youth is merely described as "adolescens nobilis propinquus Cæsaris.") The bearded figure lifting both hands, behind the kneeling Apostle, is probably intended for Simon Magus. Four of these compositions (Nos. 2, 5, 8, and 11) are almost double subjects. In No. 2, different moments of the same event are represented; No. 5 contains two subjects, as above described; in a portion of No. 8 the homage or *dulia* to St. Peter is represented, and in No. 11 the subject of Peter and Paul accused before Nero of despising the idols (sometimes improperly called Paul before Felix) occupies nearly half the space: in the background Paul is also seen led to martyrdom.

Some writers on art seem to have attributed all these frescoes indiscriminately to *Masaccio*; others have considered the best portions to be his: the accuracy of German investigation has perhaps finally settled the distribution as above. According to this, the observations of Reynolds (Discourse 12) respecting Raphael's imitation of some of these figures would only prove that the great painter thought *Filippino Lippi* and *Masolino* worth borrowing from, as well as *Masaccio*.—C. L. E.



THE FALL by Filippino Lippi.

THE EXPULSION OF ADAM AND EVE, by Masaccio.

Frescoes in the Church of S. M. del Carmine, Florence.



THE TRIBUTE MONEY a fresco by Masaccio in the Church of S. M. del Carmine, Florence



THE TRIBUTE MONEY a fresco by Masaccio in the Church of S. M. del Carmine, Florence.



MARTYRDOM OF ST. PETER: a fresco by Filippino Lippi, in the Church of S. M. del Carmine, Florence.

instance, for the first time, the aim is the study of form for itself, the study of the external conformation of man. With such an aim is identified a feeling which, in beauty, sees and preserves the expression of proportion; and in repose or motion, the expression of an harmonious development of the powers of the human frame. In these works, therefore, for the first time, we find a well-grounded and graceful delineation of the nude, which, though still somewhat constrained in the figures of Adam and Eve (No. 1), exhibits itself in successful mastery in the Youth preparing for baptism (No. 4); so well, in short, in both, that the first were copied by *Raphael* for the Loggia of the Vatican, while the last, according to tradition, formed an epoch in the history of Florentine art. The art of raising the figures from the flat surface, the *modelling* of the forms, hitherto only faintly indicated, here begins to give the effect of actual life. In this respect, again, these pictures exhibit at once a beginning and a successful progress, for in the Tribute Money (No. 2), many parts are hard and stiff; the strongest light is not placed in the centre, but at the edge of the figures; while in the Resuscitation of the Boy (No. 8), the figures appear in perfect reality before the spectator. Moreover, we find a style of drapery freed from the habitual type-like manner of the earlier periods, and dependent only on the form underneath, at the same time expressing dignity of movement by broad masses and grand lines. Lastly, we remark a peculiar style of composition, which in the Resuscitation of the Boy, supposed to be *Masaccio's* last picture, exhibits a powerful feeling for truth and individuality of character. The event itself includes few persons; a large number of spectators are disposed around, who, not taking a very lively interest in what is passing, merely present a picture of earnest, serious manhood; in each figure we read a worthy fulfilment of the occupations and duties of life. The high poetic completeness of which this circumscribed and seemingly subordinate aim in composition is capable, will be found very remarkably displayed in the works of a later Florentine, *Domenico Ghirlandajo*.

Among the commissions recorded to have been undertaken

by *Masaccio* during the progress of the Brancacci Chapel, was a fresco in the church of the Carmine, representing a procession of figures on occasion of the consecration of the building. Portraits of *Brunelleschi*, *Donatello*, *Masolino*, Brancacci, and other artists and patrons, are described to have been among them. This fresco has been long under whitewash. Recently, however, a portion of such a subject has been brought to light in the cloisters, which is pronounced to be by the hand of *Masaccio*. Another work on the screen of the nave of S. Maria Novella, long covered by a worthless work by *Vasari*, has also been disclosed. It represents an Italian Trinity with the Virgin and St. John, and a male and female donor on each side. Having been sawed from the place where it belonged—always a most perilous operation—and moved to a place close to the entrance, it no longer retains even such preservation as *Vasari* had left. The heads of the donors, however, are imperishably fine.

A mystery overhangs the end of *Masaccio*. He disappeared from Florence in 1428, leaving his last fresco in the Brancacci Chapel incomplete, and no clue to the manner of his death has been discovered. Nothing certain is known of any easel pictures by *Masaccio*. Two fine portraits in the Uffizi bear his name. The younger portrait is now believed to be the work of *Filippino Lippi*.

It is not known that *Masaccio* had any scholars. The Carmelite friar, *Fra Filippo Lippi*, ten years his junior, has been surmised to have been taught by him; but the instruction would seem rather to have proceeded from *Masaccio*'s works. *Fra Filippo* was born 1412, and died 1469. By two years of age he had lost both father and mother, and in 1420 the name of the young boy appears enrolled in the Community of the Carmine. The account given by *Vasari* of *Fra Filippo*'s romantic and scandalous life receives no corroboration, but in some respects a refutation, from recent documentary investigation. No evidence of his stay in Ancona, of his capture by Barbary pirates at that place, or of his residence in Naples—where he is stated to have landed on return from captivity—has been found. Nor does his withdrawal from the Carmine convent, which he quitted in

1432, seem to have involved his abandonment of the frock. On the contrary, cotemporary documents mention him many years later as still a "Frate;" and his own pictures, extending over many years, are signed "Frater Filippus." In one of them, a Coronation of the Virgin in the Accademia, his own portrait is included, representing him with the tonsure, and finally, the record of his death is entered in the register of the Carmine convent as that of "Fr. Filippus." Nor is it probable, whatever the manners of the time, that a monk of scandalous habits should have been appointed in 1452 chaplain of a nunnery in Florence, and in 1457 rector of S. Quirico at Legnaia, both of which facts are now established. Under such circumstances we may give *Fra Filippo* the benefit of a doubt regarding the story of Lucretia Buti and the paternity of *Filippino Lippi* (believed to have been an adopted son), the more especially as the picture now in the Louvre—a Nativity, in which he is asserted to have depicted the Virgin under the features of Lucretia Buti—has long been considered by connoisseurs to be by a different hand. The circumstances also of his life seem to have been unpropitious to much self-indulgence; for he writes that it has pleased God to leave him—"the poorest friar in Florence"—the charge of six marriageable nieces, who entirely depend on him.* Whether the friar was a good dispenser of his own earnings is another question. He seems to have been involved in debt, and probably for that reason not famed for punctuality in the fulfilment of commissions. We may now turn to his art.

The style of *Fra Filippo* is peculiarly his own, both in form and colouring. The type of his heads is short, with wide jaws, and a solemn, yet youthful expression, which is very pleasing. His colour is golden and broad, almost anticipating Titian, and his drapery finely cast and of fascinatingly broken tones. His figures are less grand in conception than those of Masaccio, and his whole treatment devoid of the ideal, but he compensates for this deficiency by a reality of human feeling which is sometimes tender and graceful, though as often rude, and even boisterous in expres-

* See Gaye, 'Carteggio d' Artisti,' vol. i. p. 141.

sion. His angels especially are like great, high-spirited boys. These peculiarities, which lean to the side of common nature, combined with a stately form of composition, render his style very attractive.

Fra Filippo's most important works are the frescoes in the choir of the Duomo at Prato.* On the left wall he represented the History of St. Stephen, in several compartments, one over the other; on the right that of St. John the Baptist; and on the wall where the window is, several figures of Saints. The fascinating powers of the Frate are especially seen here in the history of the Baptist, where a peculiar sense of reality is combined with the utmost grace of lines. The birth of the Baptist with the fine figure of St. Elizabeth on the bed; the farewell between the young boy and his parents on his departure for the desert; and the dancing of Salome, with the group of two whispering women in the right corner, are all worthy of close attention. On the opposite side, the body of St. Stephen stretched on a bier—bewailed by two women who sit right and left in front, and surrounded by fine male figures, portraits of the time—(see woodcut), is very remarkable.

The death of St. Bernard, also in the Cathedral at Prato, was executed before the frescoes just described, and may be called inferior to them.

An altar-piece—the Nativity, with the Virgin and St. Joseph adoring, with SS. George and Domenick, shepherds and angels—was one of the *chefs-d'œuvre* of the master, but is now much defaced. It is in the Refectory of S. Domenico at Prato. Another altar-picture, the Assumption of the Madonna, who drops her girdle for St. Thomas, is in S. Margherita at Prato.

Towards the close of his life, *Fra Filippo* was employed at Spoleto, where he adorned the apsis of St. Catherine with frescoes from the life of the Madonna—the Annunciation, Nativity, Death of Virgin in lower row, and Coronation surrounded with angels and saints above. These do eminent

* ‘*Delle Pitture di Fra Filippo Lippi nel coro della Cattedrale di Prato, e de' loro restauri, relazione compilata dal C. F. B. (Canonicus Baldanzi.) Prato, 1835.*’ See ‘*Kunstbl.*’, 1836, No. 90.



FRATER • FILIPPVS

justice to the painter of the frescoes at Prato, and display heads of fine study and character, and excellent drapery. Too much has been restored by a very indifferent hand. The Frate did not live to finish this work, which was completed by his scholar, *Fra Diamante*. *Fra Filippo* died in Spoleto, in 1469.

His panel pictures are tolerably numerous, and when once his peculiar manner is known, he will rarely be mistaken. The large picture in the Accademia is full of his beauties and his defects. A smaller work is in the corridor of the Uffizi; the Madonna with an elaborate head-dress of transparent material, with folded hands, adoring the grand, chubby Child, who is held up to her by two laughing boy angels. An excellent little picture in the gallery of the Uffizi, St. Jerome writing in the recess of a wall, approaches the cotemporary Flemish style in the mode of treating accidental accessories; such, for instance, as the torn paper and the pen under the table. The grand picture in the Louvre of the Virgin standing and holding the Child, with numerous figures, was painted when the master was only twenty-six, by which we see how early his peculiar style in expression and colour was developed. He is seen also to advantage in the Berlin Museum, the Virgin adoring the Child, from the Solly collection. Two interesting lunette* pictures are in the National Gallery.

Fra Filippo's scholars included *Sandro Botticelli* and *Filippino Lippi*. He had also a scholar and assistant in the person of *Fra Diamante*, who stood towards him apparently in the same capacity as *Mariotto Albertinelli* to *Fra Bartolommeo*. He completed, as said above, the frescoes at Spoleto, though his hand is not recognisable. It appears that *Fra*

* The altar decoration was sometimes composed of a variety of subjects; the chief picture was often surmounted by a lunette,—a smaller, sometimes rectangular, but more frequently semicircular picture; the flat frame was generally painted with arabesques and with heads or single figures; lastly, the basement or step (*gradino*, *predella*) on the top of the altar was adorned with small pictures, generally three or five in number. Sometimes the principal picture had doors, which could be closed upon it; these doors or wings were painted inside and out, and on the inside commonly contained the portraits of the donors, who thus knelt on each side of the principal subject. The last form and treatment, less common in Italy, are almost universal in the early Flemish and German altar-pieces. A picture with one door, and consequently consisting of two panels, is called a Diptych; with two doors (or three panels), a Triptych; and with many, a Polyptych.—C. L. E.

Diamante fell under the censure of his order for some offence. It is quite possible that the inaccurate Vasari may have made a mistake, and laid his sins on the shoulders of *Fra Filippo*.

As regards two painters, both bearing the name of *Pesello*, though the younger has been distinguished as *Pesellino*, much confusion has existed, owing chiefly to the errors of Vasari. The researches of Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle have proved the existence of grandfather and grandson; the first, *Giuliano d'Arrigo*, commonly known as *Pesello*, born in 1367; the second, *Francesco di Stefano*, in 1423. The statement of *Giuliano's* having laboured conjointly with a hand fifty-six years younger than his own, at a time when that period of years embraced a most important development in art, is corroborated by no evidence. No certain work by the elder is left, but if the Adoration of the Magi, a long picture in the Uffizi, be by either, it may be ascribed to *Giuliano*. "The faces are red and darkly outlined, hands often badly drawn, but though the horses are scarcely better than those by *Paolo Uccello*, some large dogs in the left corner are drawn and modelled with great truth."* He is reported by Vasari to have excelled in the representation of animals—an excellence which is observable in the younger *Pesellino*, to whom we may now confine our attention, though his life and works are also involved in some obscurity. He is supposed to have been the scholar of *Fra Filippo Lippi*, and to have painted the predella for one of the Frate's altar-pieces. A fine predella picture of the legend of St. Nicholas is in the Casa Buonarroti at Florence. But the work which must be considered the master-piece of the painter, and which entitles its author to one of the highest places in the ranks of the fifteenth century, is the picture formerly in the Ottley collection, and now one of the chief treasures in the National Gallery. This is an Italian Trinity encircled by a glory of heads of seraphim and cherubim. The head of the First Person is without exception the most remarkable example of the period at which it was executed.

Pesellino was frequently employed in decorating the Cassoni of this time. Two pictures formerly thus applied

* Memorandum by Sir C. L. Eastlake, 1863, Florence.



MADONNA AND CHILD. WITH ANGELS; by S. Botticelli, in the Gallery of
the Uffizj, Florence.

and well preserved, in the Palazzo Torrigiano at Florence,—the Triumph of David,—are ascribed to him. These are also first-rate works, combining beauty of male and female figures with the pomp and splendour of architecture and costume, and introducing a variety of animals both of African and European races. Many works attributed to *Pesello* or *Pesellino* bear only the stamp of his time, and are equally akin to *Pollaiuolo* or *Benozzo Gozzoli*. No signed work has yet been discovered. *Pesellino* died at an early age, in 1457.

Sandro Filipepe, called *Botticelli*—born 1447, died 1515—was the scholar of *Filippo Lippi*, though apprenticed first to a goldsmith. He appeared at a time and was in a position to take advantage of those efforts for the development of art which sculptors and painters had equally exerted, but a strong individual character takes the lead of all other characteristics in his works. In vehemence and impetuosity of action, combined occasionally with great grandeur, he stands alone. He especially developed a power of movement, often finer in attempt than in performance, and a passionate imagination in expression which render him the most dramatic painter of the school. What may be called the Titanic force of some of his creations allies him to *Luca Signorelli*, and to *Michael Angelo*. His circular pictures (*tondi*) of the Madonna and Child with angels, which are numerous, are supposed to belong to his earliest time. Like *Fra Filippo* his angels take the form of masculine, grand youths, though more noble in character than the boisterous conceptions of the Frate. In the *tondo* in the Uffizi (see woodcut) they are believed to represent some youthful members of the Medici family. *Sandro Botticelli* was peculiarly qualified to illustrate the mythological and allegorical tendencies which the revival of classic literature developed in Italy during the fifteenth century. The imagination readily consents to the creations of his hand in this line. His Venus, borne upon the sea and driven to the shore by the Winds, a vehemently intertwined group of wonderful power, in the Uffizi, is an example of this class. Also the Allegory of Spring in the Accademia. But his *chef-d'œuvre* in the representation

of Allegory as well as the choicest specimen of his passionate poetry is the small picture called "The Calumny of Apelles," after Lucan's description of a picture of that subject by Apelles, also in the Uffizi (see woodcut). Few painters have succeeded in making every part of a work so tributary to the leading idea. The very statues in the niches are enlisted in the service. Such a picture as this is a far juster revelation of the violence and fiery spirit predominant in Florence than any which the literature of the time has bequeathed.

Sandro's treatment of religious subjects partakes almost equally of the vehemence of his character. In his Coronation of the Virgin, in the Accademia,* the angels dancing above are wild with the excitement of celestial rapture, some of which is communicated even to the four human Saints standing below. A still more poetic embodiment of angelic intensity of feeling is seen in the grand Coronation of the Virgin, in Hamilton Palace,† and in the truly exquisite picture of the Nativity belonging to Mr. Fuller Maitland.‡ An opposite example of the excitement of despair may be instanced in a Pieta in the Munich Gallery, where the Maries around the body of the Saviour are frantic with grief.

Among the most important monuments of *Botticelli's* art are his frescoes in the Sistine Chapel, executed previous to 1484.§ In the attraction offered by *Michael Angelo's* ceiling

* See 'Galleria delle Belle Arti.'

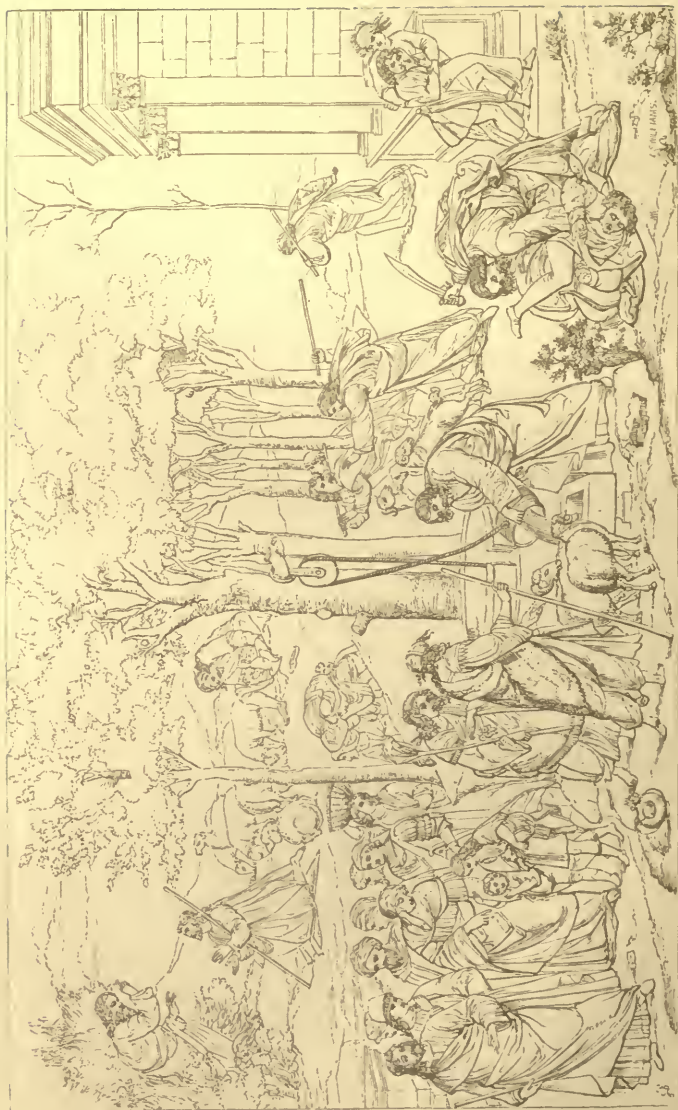
† Exhibited at Burlington House, 1873.

‡ Exhibited at Burlington House, 1871.

§ This chapel was built under the auspices of Sixtus IV., in 1473, by Baccio Pintelli, a Florentine architect; its length is nearly 150 feet, and its breadth one-third of that extent: it has two entrances, a principal one opposite the altar, and a small one in the corner to the right of the altar, leading to the Pope's apartments. The larger portion of the chapel, which is devoted to the church service, is divided from the rest by a balustrade. The principal entablature, at a considerable height from the pavement, forms a narrow gallery, protected by an iron railing, round three sides of the chapel: the end wall, where *Michael Angelo's* Last Judgment is, is, of course, unbroken. Between this gallery and the springing of the vaulted roof are the windows, six on each side; on the wall opposite the altar are two painted windows to correspond. The space under the windows is divided horizontally into two portions; the lower is merely painted with imitations of hangings, the upper contains the subjects from the life of Moses and Christ. A description of these may not be out of place here. On the end wall, over and on each side of the altar, were three frescoes by *Perugino*, all afterwards destroyed to make room for the Last Judgment



Small Allegorical Painting (from the description of a picture by Apelles) relating to CALUMNY, in the Uffizi, Florence, by S. Botticelli.



THE HISTORY OF MOSES. a fresco by Sandro Botticelli, in the Sistine Chapel.

these grand works have been much overlooked. The history of Moses, given in a series of incidents in one fresco, teems with his exuberant power, and displays great grandeur of landscape (see woodcut). The two other frescos are the Temptation of Christ and the Story of Korah. *Sandro* painted also twenty-eight figures of Popes between the windows.

The master's command over portraiture was also remarkable, for to this category must be assigned his Adoration of the Magi, executed for the Medici, now in the Uffizi, in which the aged Cosmo kneels before the Virgin, while various members of the family of utmost individuality and dignity, the heads nobly modelled against a light ground, appear as spectators of the scene.

by *Michael Angelo*. The subject over the altar was the Assumption of the Virgin,—in this Pope Sixtus IV. was introduced, kneeling: on the left of this was Moses in the Bulrushes; on the right, Christ in the Manger; the other paintings still exist, more or less well preserved. Six subjects are on each of the side walls, and two on each side of the principal entrance. The subjects from the life of Moses on the left are all intended, like the first-named, to have a typical reference to the corresponding representations on the right, from the life of Christ. The order and relation are as follows:—1. Moses and Zipporah on their way to Egypt, the Circumcision of their Son (Exod. iv. 24) [*Luca Signorelli*]. 1. The Baptism of Christ [*Perugino*]. 2. Moses Overcoming the Egyptian, and again, Driving away the Shepherds who hindered the Daughters of Jethro from Drawing Water (Exod. ii. 11, 17) [*Sandro Botticelli*]. 2. The Temptation, or Christ Overcoming the Power of Satan [*Sandro Botticelli*]. 3. Moses and the Israelites after the Passage of the Red Sea [*Cosimo Rosselli*]. 3. The Calling of various Apostles (Peter, Andrew, James and John) from the Lake of Genesareth [*Domenico Ghirlandajo*]. 4. Moses giving the Commandments from the Mount [*Cosimo Rosselli*]. 4. Christ Preaching on the Mount [*Cosimo Rosselli*]. 5. The Punishment of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, who aspired, uncalled, to the priesthood (Numb. xvi. 31) [*Sandro Botticelli*]. 5. The Sacrament of Holy Orders, or Christ giving the Keys to Peter [*Perugino*]. 6. Moses before his Death Giving his Last Commands to Joshua [*Luca Signorelli*]. 6. The Last Supper [*Cosimo Rosselli*]. 7. Michael, Victorious over Satan, bears away the Body of Moses (Jude 9) [*Cecchino Salviati*]. 7. The Resurrection [*Domenico Ghirlandajo*]. The two last-named pictures on each side of the principal entrance were materially injured by the sinking of the architrave, and were afterwards badly repaired. Many of these compositions contain more than one moment of time, and all are remarkable for the crowds of portrait-like spectators, in imitation of *Masaccio*. The best are those by *Sandro*, the Moses and Zipporah by *Signorelli*, and the Holy Orders by *Perugino*. *Cosimo Rosselli*, knowing the taste of the Pope, covered his paintings with gold (even the lights on the figures are sometimes thus heightened), and, to the dismay of the other painters, his Holiness expressed himself best pleased with *Cosimo's* performances. See Taja, 'Descrizione del Vaticano;' and Plattner and Bunsen, 'Beschreibung der Stadt Rom.'—C. L. E.

Sandro's Madonna pictures were much multiplied, and are many of them *bottega* works, yet the type both of mother and child is always more or less of a grand and tragic kind.

We have already shown reason for doubting the paternity hitherto assigned to *Filippino Lippi*. The adoption by the scholar of the master's name was too common at the time to afford any proof of a nearer relationship. It appears, however, that *Filippino* belonged to Prato, where the relations of *Fra Filippo* resided, and it is possible that he may have been a member of the Frate's family. The date of his birth has not been ascertained, though it is believed that the year 1460, usually given, is too late. One of the finest works by his hand, the Vision of St. Bernard, in the Badia at Florence, known to have been commissioned of the painter in 1480, bears token of riper excellence than pertains to the age of twenty or twenty-one. The instruction of *Filippino Lippi* was assigned by Vasari to *Botticelli*, and a closer resemblance is traced between the works of these two masters than between those of *Filippo* and *Filippino*. The impetuous character of *Sandro* is occasionally seen in the works of *Filippino*, but a far higher grace and standard of beauty may be pronounced to have been natural to the latter. These qualities are especially seen in the first-mentioned work in the Badia, which is unrivalled in the charm that distinguishes *Filippino*.* The subject is the Virgin appearing to St. Bernard. Above the Saint's head, on a stone, is seen an inscription "Substine et abstine." The time is evening; the landscape extremely fine against a light sky. The Saint is seated writing in the open air—the convent behind him—when he is surprised by the apparition of the Madonna, a figure of ineffable charm, with a beautiful action of the right hand, followed by a train of cherubs; till, in his astonishment, the pen is about to drop from his hand. This work is one of the finest by the master. Nowhere has the realising tendency translated heavenly personages into earthly forms of more charming character. Other easel pictures by *Filippino* seldom do him entire justice. We must mention,

* See Rosini, plate 59.



RESUSCITATION OF THE KING'S SON, by Masaccio and Filippino Lippi; fresco in the Church of S. M. del Carmine, Florence
p. 223, No. 3.



ST. PAUL ADDRESSING ST. PETER IN PRISON.
From a fresco, by Filippino Lippi, in the Carmine at Florence

however, a few exceptions, such as a Madonna enthroned with four saints, a youthful work of 1485, in the Uffizi Gallery ; an Adoration in the same gallery, full of new features ; and a picture in the Berlin Museum, the Crucified Saviour with the Virgin and St. Francis. These figures are of the deepest expression. As respects *Filippino's* other smaller works, we may mention a tabernacle at Prato, in the vicinity of S. Margherita, representing the Madonna and Child, with angels and saints on each side. The work is much injured and also over-painted, but the few heads still preserved are of the highest grace and sweetness. Two small pictures of much refinement by the master, Christ and the woman of Samaria, and the "Noli me tangere," are preserved in the Seminario at Venice.

In his larger works *Filippino* appears as one of the greatest historical painters of his century. The rich ornamental decorations which he everywhere introduces in his architecture and other accessories were the result of his study of the Roman antiquities, which interested the painters of the fifteenth century more on account of their decorative character than on any principle of antique form.

Among *Filippino's* best and most finished historical works are those in the Brancacci Chapel, in the Carmelite church at Florence, in which he successfully approaches the seriousness and genuine truth of *Masaccio*, although he never equals him in simplicity and repose. In point of beauty of conception and action the King's Son just raised from death is not inferior to *Masaccio's* figures, and in naïve reality the same may be said of the sleeping guards in the subject of Peter Delivered from Prison. *Filippino's* peculiar aim is, however, most clearly recognised in the following works. Having been summoned to Rome about 1492, he painted the Cappella Carafa in S. Maria sopra Minerva, which, according to the intention of the founder, Cardinal Olivieri Carafa, was destined to contain the Glorification of the Madonna, and that of St. Thomas Aquinas. The latter subject occupies the right wall. Instead of the large symbolical compositions with which the fourteenth century decorated S. Maria Novella at Florence, we here see a consistently

sustained human interest, after the manner of the new tendency. St. Thomas appears enthroned, with the four cardinal virtues, under a rich architecture decorated with cherub forms. His feet rest upon a prostrate heretic; several spectators are looking down from a gallery above. The most remarkable figures, however, are those of the teachers of false doctrine, on each side in the foreground, who display the most varied expressions of shame, grief, and mortification. Among them is Sabellius in a red mantle, the grey-headed Arius, and two richly-clad boys. The Ecstasy of St. Thomas in the lunette above is of inferior value. The altar-piece contains an Annunciation, in which St. Thomas is presenting the kneeling figure of Cardinal Carafa to the Virgin, who, though in prayer, is stealing a glance at the angel entering on the other side. A lifted curtain shows a shelf of books and writing materials. On the wall beside and above the altar is the Assumption (now greatly over-painted). The Disciples looking upwards from the open grave are in excellent action, but appear less animated with devotion than with astonishment at the miracle. Having returned to Florence, *Filippino* painted the histories of the Apostles John and Philip upon the side walls on the chapel Filippo Strozzi, in S. Maria Novella. These are greatly marred by injury and over-painting. Here he distinguishes himself as a painter of emotions, of dramatic action, and of real life, omitting, it is true, the higher ecclesiastical meaning. The Resuscitation of Drusiana by St. John is, however, one of his highest efforts.* The Apostle is pointing upwards with his right hand, while his left touches Drusiana, who, with the most marvellous expression of returning life, is raising herself upon the bier. The bearers are fleeing in terror, but a number of graceful female figures remain in trembling attention, their frightened children clinging to their knees. Scarcely less excellent is the Apostle Philip exorcising the Dragon. The priests of the heathen temple are advancing resentfully down the steps, while the Apostle, with a grand gesture, exorcises the monster in the foreground. On the

* See Mrs. Jameson's 'Poetry of Sacred and Legendary Art,' vol. i. p. 138.—C. L. E.

right, collected round the body of the king's son, whom the dragon has killed, is a finely expressed group of courtiers ; on the left are standing other figures, shuddering at the monster, and holding their hands before their faces at its pestilential breath. The figures are executed with peculiar energy and ease ; the women are beautiful, the men dignified, and the forms throughout full of life ; only the drapery is somewhat mannered and conventional. *Filippino's* large altar-pieces show his complete command over the arts of colouring and composition. His Adoration of the Kings in the Uffizi consists of no less than thirty figures, all contributing to the effect of the whole, and developing the several branches of progress in the Florentine school. His Marriage of St. Catherine, with four Saints, another large picture, signed, and dated 1501, is in the chapel of the Tolani family in S. Domenico in Bologna. This is in fine preservation, of admirable colour and grand execution. Conspicuous for beauty are the figures of six little angels, two-and-two on the varying heights of the entablature, each holding a lighted candelabrum. The St. Sebastian is also noble in character.

Filippino's small pictures are very precious in character. A Communion of St. Jerome in the Balbi Palace, Genoa, is a gem. Also a small work, with half-length figures, in the possession of M. Reizet, Paris.

The National Gallery has a work of grand execution, though almost colourless, the Madonna and Child with SS. Jerome and Francis. Another, St. Francis in Ecstasy, with Angels, is a specimen of his minuter execution. *Filippino* died in 1505, and was buried in S. Michele Bisdomini in Florence.

Another Florentine employed under *Sandro Botticelli* on the walls of the Sistine Chapel is *Cosimo Rosselli*, whose family for three generations had followed the profession of the arts. He was born in 1439, and became assistant to *Neri de' Bicci*, a master not calculated to develop talent. *Cosimo's* earlier works incline to the manner of *Fra Angelico*, and a Last Judgment in the Berlin Museum is assigned to *Fra Angelico* and *Cosimo Rosselli* in common. Subsequently he appears to have stood in some relation to

Benozzo Gozzoli. His best work is a large fresco* in a very dark chapel in S. Ambrogio, at Florence, painted in 1456; it represents the removal of a miraculous sacramental cup from the church of S. Ambrogio, to the bishop's palace. Here, as already remarked in the instance of *Masaccio*, the greater part of the composition consists of mere spectators; among these we find pleasing female heads, and dignified male figures. The costume, which is that of the time, is finished with remarkable precision. Among *Cosimo's* best pictures may be mentioned a Coronation of the Virgin, in S. Maria Maddalena de' Pazzi, at Florence. There is also an excellent altar-piece by him in S. Ambrogio, the Assumption of the Madonna, with angels and saints at her feet. A Crucifixion surrounded by saints and angels, of a noble and animated character, was formerly in the collection of Mr. Ottley. Of his frescoes in the Sistine Chapel the Sermon on the Mount (see woodcut) is the most successful. The three others, the Passage of the Red Sea, Moses Delivering the Tables of the Law, and the Last Supper, are tame and devoid of interest. He died after 1506, the date of his will, which contradicts Vasari's assertion that the pursuit of alchemy had ruined him, for the will proves him to have been in good circumstances.

Benozzo di Lese di Sandro, known as *Benozzo Gozzoli*, was born in 1424. He was a scholar of *Fra Angelico*, and followed him to Rome and Orvieto, in which latter place we have alluded to him as working under the Frate. Except in his light and cheerful colouring, he has little affinity to his master. Indeed, in every other respect he presents the greatest contrast to him, for of all the Italians he is precisely the painter who seems to have been first smitten with the beauty of the natural world and its various appearances. His pictures overflow with the delighted sense of this beauty; he was the first to create rich landscape backgrounds, with cities, villas, and trees; with rivers and richly-cultivated valleys; with bold rocks, &c. He enlivens this landscape most agreeably with animals of all kinds, dogs, hares, deer, and large and small birds, which are introduced wherever there

* Engraved in Lasinio's Collection from the old Florentine masters.



CHRIST'S SERMON ON THE MOUNT: a fresco in the Sistine Chapel, by Cosimo Rosselli.

is room. When the incident takes place in the interior of cities or dwellings, he displays the richest fancy for architectural forms, representing halls with open porticoes, elegant arcades, galleries, balconies, &c., all in a beautiful Florentine style. In the representations of the human figure, we find gaiety and whim, feeling and dignity, in the happiest combination; but in this instance again, the artist, not satisfied with the figures necessary to the action, peoples the landscape and architecture with groups, and generally surrounds the principal actors with a circle of spectators, among whom are introduced portraits of the painter's cotemporaries, to whom he has thus raised a memorial. In movement and cast of drapery, *Benozzo's* figures, taken singly, are often very graceful, although marked by an almost feminine timidity of gait and gesture; the heads are very expressive; the portraits true to nature, and delicately felt.

Among the earlier works of *Benozzo* may be mentioned the pictures of the Apostles and the Martyrs, executed after the year 1447, which form a portion of the glory in the Last Judgment, commenced by *Fra Angelico* in the chapel of S. Brizio, in the cathedral of Orvieto. Also several paintings in the churches of S. Fortunato and S. Francesco* at Montefalco (a little town not far from Fuligno), executed 1450, in which the resemblance to *Fra Angelico* is evident. During, or before 1479, *Benozzo* returned to Florence in order to decorate the walls of the small chapel in the Palazzo Medici, now Riccardi. Here we see him first entering that path which led him entirely away from the forms proper to his master. This chapel is made the scene of the Journey of the Three Kings to Bethlehem, represented in a sumptuous progress of knights, squires, and pages, with dogs and hunting leopards, all seen passing through a rich country. The walls next the altar are peopled with quires of angels in a landscape, some kneeling, others plucking flowers, rendered with much poetry and feeling. From Florence *Benozzo* proceeded to S. Gimignano in 1463-4, where he completed a series of works in S. Agostino, illustrating the life of St. Augustin, in which his cheerful fancy is more

* See Rumohr, 'Ital. Forschungen,' ii. p. 257, &c.

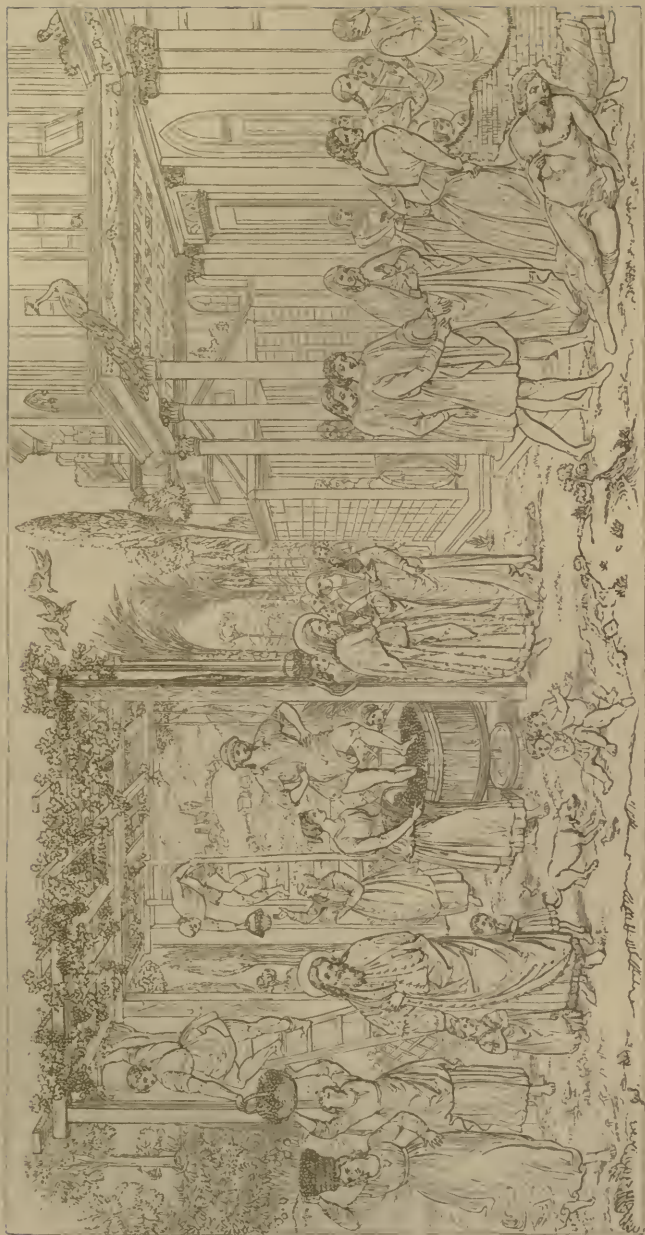
completely developed.* These works, like all others of the highest value in Italy, have suffered, being in part obliterated, in part over-painted. He was assisted in them by one *Giusto d'Andrea*.†

The master is, however, seen to highest advantage in his labours in the Campo Santo at Pisa, which he undertook in 1469, and where, with the exception of the works of *Pietro di Puccio*, he covered the north wall. These frescoes occupied him till 1485. They form a continuation, both in situation and subject, of the works of *Pietro*, and represent the History of the Old Testament from the time of Noah to the visit of the Queen of Sheba to Solomon, in a thronged and overflowing series. These have suffered greatly from damp and neglect, yet they still offer one of the most interesting monuments of art of the fifteenth century. The limits of this work do not permit any adequate description of subjects treated with such fulness of fancy and redundance of natural beauties as these display. *Benozzo* is in his element here; sometimes, as in all his works, approaching the exaggerated and fantastic, never really abstract or grand; but always revelling in the truly *picturesque*, whether of nature or art; in architecture, flowers, fruits, and animals, with gorgeous peacocks perched on marble basins, and *pergolas* laden with grapes, and every form of jocund life that could be made consistent with the subject in hand. There are twenty-one frescoes in the Campo Santo by his hand.‡ He was assisted in them by *Zenobio Macchiavelli*, who copied his style feebly. The execution of this mighty work gave so much satisfaction to the Pisan authorities in its progress, that as early as 1478 they presented the painter with a solid though somewhat novel testimony of their regard in the shape of a sarcophagus,

* St. Augustine preaching at Rome has been engraved in chromolithograph by the Arundel Society.

† A letter of *Benozzo's* dated S. Gemignano, 1467, is published in Dr. Gaye's collection, together with an extract from the journal of *Giusto di Andrea*, one of the painter's assistants in S. Agostino. *Giusto* particularizes all the parts done by his own hand. Three other interesting letters, addressed by *Benozzo* to *Pietro de' Medici* in 1459, also published by Dr. Gaye, relate to the Adoration of the Magi, in the private chapel of the Medici.—C. L. E.

‡ C. Lasinio, 'Pitt. a fresco del Campo Santo di Pisa.' Ottley, pl. 46 to 49.



NOAH AND HIS FAMILY : a fresco in the Campo Santo, Pisa, by Benozzo Gozzoli

destined for his ultimate repose within the precincts of the Campo Santo. An inscription recorded their gift, the date of which, 1478, has misled biographers as to the time of *Benozzo's* death. Records have lately come to light which prove that he died as late as 1496.

Easel pictures by *Benozzo* are rare, and like other great masters he is not seen to such advantage in this form as in his frescoes. A specimen is in the Louvre—St. Thomas Aquinas in glory, seated on a prostrate heretic, between Plato and Aristotle. The master is also seen in the National Gallery—a Virgin and Child, with saints and angels. This displays a certain energy and reality, though by no means an attractive picture, but it receives an adventitious interest from the preservation of the contract which engaged the painter to execute it. In his minuter works *Benozzo* returns more to the manner, though not to the spirit, of *Fra Angelico*. The "Rape of Helen," in the National Gallery, is a beautiful example. The illuminations also of a MS. Virgil in the Biblioteca Riccardiana at Florence recall the style of *Benozzo*.

We now come to a painter whose name is one of the great landmarks in the history of Florentine art, and who carried to perfection what *Masaccio* had conceived and begun. *Domenico Corradi*, called *Ghirlandajo* was born in 1449. His father Tommaso Corradi di Dafo Bighordi is believed to have been a jeweller of repute. It is said that the garlands which he manufactured for the Florentine women* were so much in

* Most of the great Florentine artists, sculptors and architects, as well as painters, were originally goldsmiths. The editors of the last editions and translations of Vasari enumerate *Orgagna*, *Luca della Robbia*, *Ghiberti*, *Brunelleschi*, *Verrocchio*, *Andrea del Sarto*, *Cellini*, and others. It has been remarked that the style of relief which is suitable to the precious metals (but which is unsuitable to marble or bronze) may have had its influence in forming the general taste of the Florentines in sculpture. The "garlands" above mentioned were probably silver ornaments (see Vasari, 'Life of Ghirlandajo'). In a severer age these ornaments were forbidden; in the extracts from the 'Archivio delle Riformazioni di Firenze,' published by Dr. Gaye, (Carteggio d'Artisti), we read (March, 1307)—"Quod nulla mulier presumat deterre in capite coronam auream vel argenteam." A fashion alluded to in another prohibition of the same date explains the long trains of the women in the early Florentine pictures: "item quod nulla mulier audeat portare vestes trannantes (*sic*) ultro quod unum brachium per terram de retro."—C. L. E.

favour, that he thence obtained the surname of Ghirlandajo, which descended to his son. The latter was also originally intended for a goldsmith, but early showed his talent for painting in the striking likenesses he drew of the passers-by, whilst yet a boy in his father's shop. His first teacher was *Alessio Baldovinetti*, a comparatively unimportant artist of the fifteenth century, already mentioned. The direction which Art had now taken was carried to a perfection of a peculiar kind by *Domenico Ghirlandajo*; the aim of the artist in this instance was no longer external form for itself, no longer a beautiful and true imitation of the circumstances of nature in the abstract: it was a predilection for particular forms, for particular circumstances, and especially for grand and important relations of life; for the glory and dignity of his native city, which, as we have before remarked, had attained at that time the zenith of her greatness. The *portrait*, in the largest signification of the word, is the prominent characteristic in the productions of *Ghirlandajo*. Thus, above all, we find the *motive*—which in earlier masters appeared more the result of accidental observation—in him completely and consistently followed out. He introduced portraits of cotemporaries into his historical representations, thus raising to them an honourable memorial; not, however, introducing them as the holy personages themselves, as was the practice among the painters of the Netherlands, and in Germany. Simple and tranquil, in the costume of their time, these personages stand by,—as spectators, or rather witnesses, of the holy incident represented,—and frequently occupy the principal places in the picture. They are generally arranged somewhat symmetrically in detached groups, thus giving to the whole a peculiarly solemn effect: in their relation to the actual subject of the picture they may be compared with the chorus of the Greek tragedy. *Ghirlandajo*, again, usually places the scene of the sacred event in the domestic and citizen life of the time, and introduces, with the real costume of the spectators, the architecture of Florence in the richest display and in complete perspective, without degenerating into those fantastic combinations which we find in *Benozzo Gozzoli*.



Fresco by D. Ghirlandajo, in the Ognissanti, Florence.

The saints also retain their well-known ideal drapery, not without reminiscences of the style of the fourteenth century. A third element is moreover apparent, derived from a particular study of antique motives of a light and animated kind, and especially of antique drapery: this study is to be traced in accessory female figures. In the execution of the details a certain degree of severity is still observable, especially in the outlines; it can scarcely, however, be called a defect. The forms are perfectly well imitated, and the peculiarities of nature successfully caught. In the technical management of fresco *Ghirlandajo* exhibits an unsurpassed finish.

Ghirlandajo's powers were of slow growth. He appears to have passed the age of thirty-one before he undertook the frescoes in the Vespucci chapel in the Ognissanti at Florence, where the portrait of Amerigo Vespucci is reported to have been introduced, and which were covered with whitewash in 1616. Two other works by him, however, bearing date 1480, are preserved in the same church. The subject of the one—St. Jerome, a fresco on the left of the nave—is a grand and severe figure seated at a desk, and surrounded with every imaginable object of still life, from a Florence flask to his cardinal's hat (see woodcut). The other work is a Last Supper in the Refectory, treated in the traditional form with Judas seated alone on the nearer side of the table. An effort at that variety of expression which culminated in *Leonardo da Vinci*, is here seen. But these frescoes are far from displaying the excellence he afterwards attained. *Domenico* is next studied in the fresco of the Sala del Orologio, since called the Sala degli Gigli, in the Palazzo Vecchio. This consists of a grand and very elaborate design in the renaissance or revived classic style, with the figure of S. Zenobio, a patron saint of Florence, enthroned, with two other Saints, all larger than life. In the background are seen the Duomo, the Campanile, and the Baptistery. Two lions in chiaroscuro bear the armorial standards of the city. Above, also in chiaroscuro, are six single figures of illustrious characters from Roman history, and a lunette with the Virgin and Child of a beauty and grace seldom seen in

Ghirlandajo's Holy Families. The whole composition is strictly architectural and decorative.* This is one of the wall-paintings still surviving in a hall which the chief painters of the day, *Botticelli*, *Filippino Lippi*, and *Perugino* contributed to adorn. It was from this busy competition that *Ghirlandajo* was called by Pope Sixtus IV., to exercise his powers in the Sistine Chapel, where, in the subject of the Calling of Peter and Andrew, the master may be said, by the general advance of the qualities of composition and expression, to take precedence of his fellow-labourers on the same walls (see woodcut). The influence of *Masaccio* is evident in the arrangement of the figures and in the noble individuality of each head, many of which represent portraits of cotemporaries who contemplate the scene with solemn interest, and are introduced to give richness and reality to the composition, not as actors in the event. The Resurrection by *Ghirlandajo*, which is on the right of the entrance, has been greatly injured and badly repaired.

On the road between Rome and Florence, at S. Gemignano, *Ghirlandajo* found time to decorate the chapel of S. Fina with creations worthy of his hand ; but his greatest triumphs were reserved for his native Florence. It appears that at the close of 1485 he had completed the frescoes representing the life of St. Francis, in the Sassetti chapel in the Trinità—works in which all his varied powers attained maturity. In the abundant incidents and characters which this subject afforded, the noblest realism combined with inimitable dignity supplies the place of the ideal. *Ghirlandajo* in fresco, as Mozart in music, is always within the range of human sympathies ; both masters elevating them to their highest exercise by means of exquisite feeling and profound science. Here again cotemporary portraits appear : that of Lorenzo de' Medici, with others, in the subject of St. Francis presenting his rules to Pope Honorius III. ; his own, in cap and mantle, looking out of the picture, in the Miracle of a Child of the Spini Family. Both these frescoes are of the utmost beauty ; and the last-

* See 'Domenico Ghirlandajo,' by Right Hon. A. H. Layard, printed for the Arundel Society.



THE CALLING OF PETER AND ANDREW; a fresco in the Sistine Chapel, by D. Ghirlandajo.



THE DEATH OF ST. FRANCIS, a fresco in S. Trinita, Florence by D. Ghirlandajo.



THE BIRTH OF THE VIRGIN; a fresco by Ghirlandajo in the choir of S. Maria Novella, Florence.

mentioned contains one of those groups of high-born women, redolent with staid modesty, in which *Ghirlandajo* stands unrivalled. But the fresco of the death of the Saint is the most remarkable, and one of the few really historical works by *Ghirlandajo*. The simple, solemn arrangement of the whole; the artless, unaffected dignity of the single figures; the noble, manly expression of sorrowing sympathy; the perfection of the execution—combine to place this picture among the most exquisite examples of Italian Art.* Our woodcut tells the tale better than any description. The writer mentioned in our note,† dwelling on the intense grief of the brethren surrounding the body, and on the more sober sorrow of those farther off, calls attention to the satire conveyed in the figures of the Bishop and his attendants, who are cold and indifferent to what is passing while they mechanically repeat the prayers for the occasion. For the rest, the paintings in this chapel are not all of equal merit; in those on the left wall particularly the assistance of scholars is very evident.‡ *Ghirlandajo* had scarce completed this great undertaking when he was engaged to cover the choir of S. Maria Novella with a new series of frescoes in place of the damaged works, already mentioned, by *Orcagna*. The very wealth and perfection with which he endowed these since-neglected walls forbid all attempt at description. The chief subjects are from the life of the Madonna and that of the Baptist, rendered in every form of beauty, dignity, and expression. The most interesting of the series are those in the lower courses nearest the eye. Our woodcut gives an idea of the graceful nature of the groups and of the grandeur of the background which invests the Birth of the Virgin. The work was

* *Ghirlandajo's* paintings in S. Trinità and S. Maria Novella are engraved in Lasinio's collection of the works of early Florentine masters.

† See 'Domenico Ghirlandajo,' by Right Hon. A. H. Layard.

‡ While justly admiring the simplicity and nature displayed in the Death of St. Francis, the work above quoted (see woodcut) points out the fact that the composition is strictly imitated from one of the same subject by *Giotto*. This may be seen in the Bardi chapel of S. Croce, recently freed from its whitewash. Not only the general arrangement is the same, but the groups, right and left, are literally repeated, though with greater life and truth. This adoption of a successful type is as old as the Greek sculptors, and only reflects honour on the artist who could openly clothe a great forerunner's ideas in the garb of a more advanced art.

executed for the Tornabuoni and Tornaquinci families, and no less than twenty-one portraits, including that of the beautiful Ginevra de' Benci, with several from the Medici, Sassetti, and other families, are introduced. The work was completed in 1490. The peculiar beauties of this painter's style are not so much developed in his easel pictures; these cannot, in general, lay claim to equal merit with his frescoes: he disturbs us also by a certain gaudiness, and especially by an inharmonious red. Among them, however, we find some very distinguished works, especially at Florence. In the church of the Innocenti (belonging to the Foundling Hospital) is a beautiful Adoration of the Kings, dated 1488, in which appear some excellent heads from nature, especially among the accessory figures. Another Adoration (a circular picture) of the preceding year is in the gallery of the Uffizi. Two admirable pictures are in the Florentine Academy, both remarkable for very sweet and graceful Madonnas, which do not frequently occur in the works of *Ghirlandajo*. The one, of the year 1485, is the well-known Adoration of the Shepherds, where an antique sarcophagus serves as a crib. An excellent Visitation, 1491, is now in the Louvre. A Madonna, also, in a nimbus, with four Saints, and a kneeling St. Jerome of especial grandeur of form and expression, is in the Berlin Museum.

Ghirlandajo's brothers *Davide* and *Benedetto* imitated his manner, and assisted him in his works, as did his brother-in-law *Bastiano Mainardi*; who, if not equal to *Domenico* in the management of colour and in modelling, is peculiarly happy in his delicate conception of character, as seen in the figures of various Saints; his best works are in the chapel of the Beata Fine,* in the parish church of the town of San Gemignano, his birthplace. The *Ghirlandajo* family are said to have laboured here also. An Annunciation in the baptistery of the same church is by *Mainardi* alone. The death of *Domenico Ghirlandajo* is said to have occurred in 1498, when his brother *Benedetto* entered on the guardianship of his family, but it may have taken place earlier.

Francesco Granacci, also one of the scholars of *Domenico*,

* Rumohr, 'Ital. Forsch.' ii. 286.

unites with his master's style a lighter grace, without, however, attaining the same life and energy. There are good works by him in the Pitti and Uffizi Galleries at Florence; several also in the Accademia, where a series of small pictures, representing the Martyrdom of S. Apollonia, may be particularly noted. At a later time *Granacci* inclined more to the manner of his great cotemporary, *Michael Angelo Buonarroti*, who, as well as *Domenico's* son, *Ridolfo Ghirlandajo*, belongs to the succeeding period. Pictures by various masters of this school are in the transept of S. Spirito at Florence.

To return to the ranks of the great religious and historical masters of the Florentine school.

We have seen that the representation of the nude had been more particularly attempted by *Paolo Uccello* and *Andrea dal Castagno*; and there is no doubt that the development of this power was materially assisted by the practice of the plastic arts which in Italy considerably preceded that of painting. This was a time when individuals dealt often in a plurality of arts—that of the goldsmith, the bronze-caster, the sculptor, and the painter being in many instances carried on together. It may be doubted, considering the length of art and brevity of life, whether this practice was beneficial; but there is no question that the accuracy of modelling required in plastic workmanship acted favourably on certain painters. The brothers *Pollaiuoli*—*Antonio* and *Pietro*—were artists of this multiform class, born severally in 1433 and 1443. Their father was a goldsmith, and *Antonio* was apprenticed to him, and became eminent in an art which, in a luxurious and wealthy age, included every form of costly ornament, equally in relief and in the round, in gold, silver, and bronze, from a lady's jewel to the design for a crucifix or an altar chasse. *Antonio* is also recorded to have rivalled *Maso Finiguerra* in niello-work. In these forms *Antonio* soon showed great mastery over design, with a deeper study of anatomy than had hitherto characterised this class of workmanship; the brothers being recorded by Vasari as the first artists who practised dissection, while their knowledge of the recently-discovered examples of antique sculpture is

also evident. In the form of pictorial art they display accordingly these combined influences. This is seen in the small pictures in the Uffizi: Hercules strangling Antæus, and overcoming the Hydra, in which a severe simplicity and the angularity incidental to a worker in metals are obvious. In considering these pictorial efforts, it is difficult to distinguish one brother from the other. *Pietro* is known to have been the scholar of *Andrea dal Castagno*; *Antonio* would seem (in painting) to have been self-taught. Their style partakes of the nature of plastic imitation, abounding in ornament and architecture, with much gaiety of colour. The figure of Prudence, originally one of the Virtues painted for the Mercatanzia (at Florence), and the three male Saints executed for S. Miniato al Monte, both pictures now in the Uffizi, are illustrations of this class. An extreme example of the influence of the jeweller's art is the Annunciation at Berlin, where an exuberance of ornament produces the effect of a piece of *tarsia*. But the chief distinction of the *Pollaiuoli* is that they first departed from the use of tempera, the vehicle of all the painters we have hitherto described, and first availed themselves of the powers of oil mediums. The *chef-d'œuvre* of the brothers, and one generally attributed to *Antonio*, is the large Martyrdom of St. Sebastian in the National Gallery,* where the fine treatment of the archers and the minute rendering of the background seem to unite the Italian and Flemish manner (see woodcut). This picture has been considered one of the first in Italy painted in oil; but, however removed from tempera, the real character of the vehicle used in this altar-piece is still uncertain, being, at all events, not that of the *Van Eycks*. *Pietro Pollaiuolo* has left his only signed work, a Coronation of the Virgin, in the Pieve of S. Gemignano. *Pietro* died before 1496; *Antonio* in 1498.

The course of *Andrea Verocchio*, born in Florence, 1432, resembles that of the *Pollaiuoli*. According to Vasari he was "a goldsmith, a teacher of perspective, a sculptor, a carver, a painter, and a musician;" a catalogue of gifts which

* Engraved in 'Etruria Pittrice,' pl. 24, and in Rosini's 'Storia della Pittura Italiana,' vol. iii. pl. 53.



MARTYRDOM OF ST. SEBASTIAN; by Antonio Pollaiuolo, National Gallery.



A. COOPER. SC.

BAPTISM OF CHRIST; by Andrea del Verrocchio, in the Accademia, Florence.



THE HISTORY OF MOSES, a fresco in the Sistine Chapel by Luca Signorelli

link him with his great scholar. His Colleoni monument at Venice places him on a higher pedestal than the *Pollaiuoli* attained, showing a combination of science and art worthy to be carried forward by *Leonardo da Vinci*. The drawings attributed to *Verocchio* are difficult to distinguish from those of *Lorenzo di Credi* and *Leonardo da Vinci*, but the style, at all events, was original in *Verocchio*. As a painter, the same difficulty occurs to define what was really by his hand. The only certain example is the well-known Baptism in the Accademia at Florence (see woodcut), the foremost angel in which is recorded as the work of *Leonardo da Vinci*. Various works in galleries at Munich, Berlin, Frankfort, and in the National Gallery, as well as in private collections, are alternately ascribed to *Ghirlandajo*, *Pesello*, the *Pollaiuoli*, *Lorenzo di Credi*, *Verocchio*, *Pietro della Francesca*, and to *Leonardo da Vinci*; thus showing an affinity of manner both in individuals and schools which points to the common conditions of the period.* *Verocchio* died in 1488.

The improvement in modelling and drawing contingent on the study of anatomy and practice of sculpture brings us to another great name in the Tuscan school, associated with a daring vigour, and sometimes an ungenial coarseness, overstepping the bounds of nature. *Luca Signorelli*, otherwise called *Luca da Cortona*, whose proper name is *Luca d'Egidio di Ventura*, was born at Cortona, it is believed in 1441, and was apprenticed to *Pietro della Francesca*. Little is known of his early life. He is recorded to have painted in Arezzo in 1472, and in Città di Castello in 1474. Nothing, however, that can be genuinely ascribed to him exists now in Arezzo. He played later an important part in the Sistine Chapel, though represented only by one wall-painting—the History of Moses—the sober dignity of which stops short equally of his power of action and his exaggeration of attitude (see woodcut). In 1484, he was in Cortona, where he made his home, and which still retains a few of his

* The picture in the National Gallery, No. 296, the Virgin and Child with two Angels, with exquisite jewellery, is an example. It passes under the name of *Ghirlandajo*, but is believed to be by *Antonio Pollaiuolo*.

works in churches and in private houses. A Deposition from the Cross and a Last Supper are in the Cathedral. These are both fine examples, especially the Deposition, "which has a grace and grand style of colouring, anticipating *Sebastian del Piombo* in this respect, as he also sometimes anticipated *Michael Angelo* in energy and grandeur of composition."* In the Confraternità of S. Niccolò there is an altar-piece with an Entombment on one side, and the Virgin and Child and Saints on the other. A fresco by *Luca* in the same building has recently been uncovered from whitewash. In the church of S. Domenico, in Città di Castello, is a fine Martyrdom of St. Sebastian, with numerous figures.

From Cortona *Luca Signorelli* doubtless supplied several of the neighbouring cities with his works, which are found in Città di Castello, Urbino, Borgo S. Sepolcro, and Perugia. The altar-piece also of the Cappella S. Onofrio, in the cathedral of Perugia (painted 1484),—a Madonna enthroned, with Saints,—combines in some portions a very harsh naturalism (for instance, in S. Onofrio himself) with a noble sentiment. As regards the whole execution, however, and the glow of colour, it may be considered a *chef-d'œuvre* of the master. He also laboured in Siena, where he executed the grand series of frescoes illustrating the life of St. Benedict, in the convent of Monte Uliveto, which are full of his energy and fancy, though now too much injured to be done justice to. In Siena he further decorated the Petrucci Palace with frescoes of profane subjects, both mythological and historical.†

In Volterra fine altar-pieces by his hand still remain. The one in S. Francesco, the Virgin and Child enthroned, with three Saints on each side, and SS. Augustin and Jerome seated below, is signed and dated 1491. An Annunciation in the Duomo is in better preservation and finely coloured. The Duomo and walls of the "Sacra Casa" at Loretto were decorated with frescoes by the master, representing Prophets

* Memorandum by Sir C. L. Eastlake, Cortona, 1856.

† Three of these—a scene with Cupid, Penelope at her Loom, and Coriolanus, transferred to canvas, and much injured—are in Mr. Barker's possession.

and Evangelists, with angels playing on musical instruments, and eight scriptural subjects below. All these are much ruined, and the lower works almost effaced.

But his chief fame rests on his frescoes at Orvieto, where, by a strange destiny, he was appointed to continue the labours of a painter the furthest possible opposed to himself in manner and character. The authorities of the cathedral of Orvieto, after waiting nine years for *Perugino*, at length engaged *Luca Signorelli* to carry on the fresco of the Last Judgment in the chapel of S. Brizio, which *Fra Angelico* had commenced.* The pious Frate had executed the solemn and quiescent part of the composition—namely, the figure of our Lord, and the attendant hierarchy of Saints and angels—and *Benozzo Gozzoli* had painted the apostles and martyrs. It was now reserved for the fiery *Luca* to add the great dramatic scene below, including the history of Antichrist.† He therefore completed the work, not, it is true, in the sense in which *Fiesole* had begun it, but with a grandeur which, excepting *Leonardo da Vinci*, no master partaking of the realistic tendency of the fifteenth century has surpassed. The chief works are four large representations on the two side walls:

* Engravings in Della Valle, *Storia del Duomo d'Orvieto*, Roma, 1791. Ottley, pl. 52 to 54.

† The usual Biblical and theological subjects which appear to have been authorized during the middle ages were adopted by the great painters, with no other change than that of superior treatment. These illustrations existed originally in illuminated MSS.; and when wood-engraving was invented, the same subjects, and sometimes precisely the same designs were repeated. The wild mystery called the History of Antichrist may perhaps be less early, or, being probably of Byzantine origin, may have been less known among the Italian and German painters than the usual Scriptural and legendary subjects. The block-book, 'Der Entkrist,' printed about 1470, was not however the first that added this series of representations to those in general use, since a similar work, the 'Historia Sancti Johannis Evangelistæ, ejusque visiones Apocalypticæ,' appeared more than twenty years earlier. *Luca Signorelli* appears to have adopted his general inventions at Orvieto (the frescoes were begun in 1499) from these or similar sources. A sufficient proof may be found in the fact that the remarkable fable of the beheading of Elijah and Enoch in both the illustrations alluded to (apparently suggested by a passage in the Apocalypse, xi. 7) also occurs in *Signorelli's* principal fresco, and this is but one among many points of resemblance. The German author, or artist, constantly refers to a 'Compendium Theologiæ' ("davon stat auch geschrieben in dem Cuch Compendio Theologie"), a book or MS. probably in the hands of most monks of the fifteenth century. See also the rubric 'De Adventu Domini,' in the Aurea Legenda.—C. L. E.

here the history of Antichrist is depicted with figures full of character, also the Resurrection, Hell, and Paradise, compositions all replete with meaning, action, and expression, consisting chiefly of naked figures. A severe but perfect and noble drawing of the nude is observable in these works; and a number of positions in the figures, never attempted in art before, are introduced with careful study and success. With the highest development also of plastic power, the anxious striving for mere anatomical correctness is no longer apparent, but gives place to a peculiar grandeur and elevation stamped alike on scenes of tranquillity and beatitude, and on representations of vehement and fantastic action. We are in every way reminded of the style of *Michael Angelo*, of whom *Luca* was the immediate predecessor, if not the cotemporary. Here is the same subordination of the merely accidental to the living majesty of the purely human form, only, it is true, not conceived with *Michael Angelo's* almost superhuman grandeur. In drapery also *Luca* exhibits elevated feeling, and in his single figures a happy imitation of the antique. The lower part of the walls is occupied with decorative subjects in chiaroscuro, with circular pictures of those poets who have described the Lower Regions, such as Hesiod and Virgil (in reference to the Sixth Book of the *Æneid*), Claudius (in reference to the Rape of Proserpine), and Dante; all surrounded with numerous smaller representations of an allegorical and mythical nature, which with the freedom characteristic of the period are mixed up unreservedly with the chief subjects.

Luca Signorelli thus inaugurated a new phase in the science which *Paolo Uccello* had practised, and led the way to the more perfect daring of *Michael Angelo*. He may be considered a painter strictly of the nude, always powerful in anatomy and action, square and unselect in form, and academical in character. It was natural that a painter of this class should find congenial subjects in the ancient literature then so ardently studied in Florence, and which, as we have seen, he applied in the Petrucci Palace at Siena. A picture recently discovered, belonging to the Marchese Corsi, signed with his name, representing the School of Pan (see



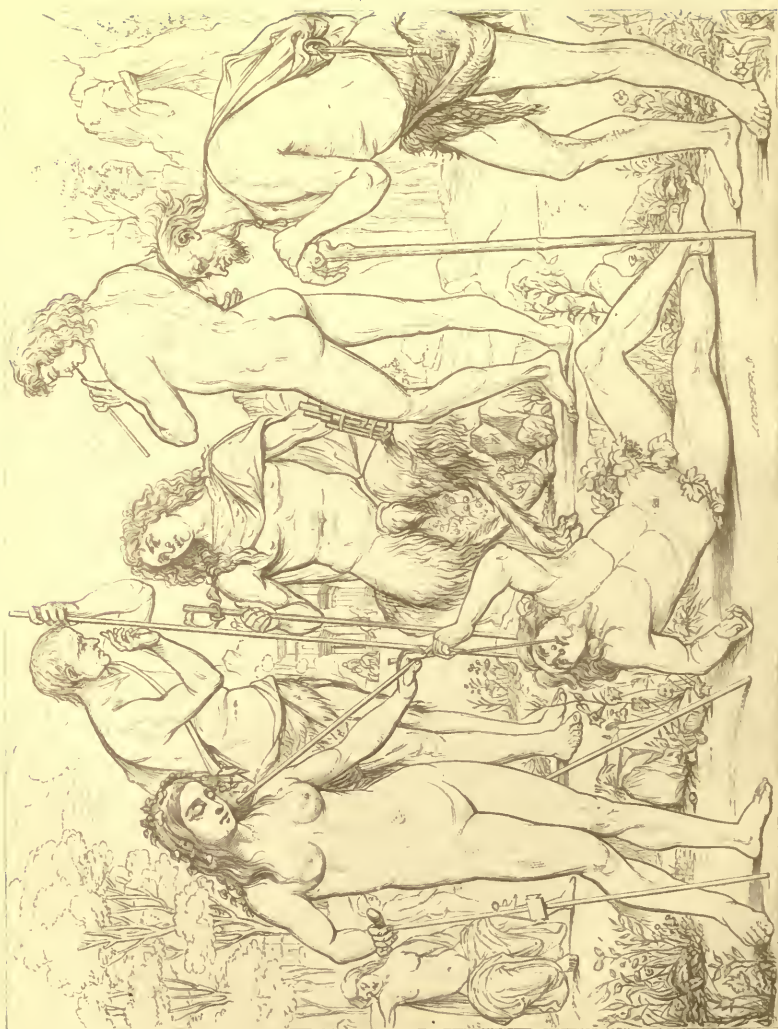
Figures from Luca Signorelli's fresco of HELL, in the Duomo, Orvieto



THE "FULMINATI." DESTRUCTION OF THE WICKED, part of a fresco by Luca

Signorelli in the Duomo, Orvieto.

p. 250 1. 1.



woodcut), shows how ardently he availed himself of the liberty which such subjects gave for the representation of the nude. The allegorical part of the picture is unintelligible.

Luca Signorelli is, upon the whole, rarely found in galleries or collections north of the Alps. In the gallery of the Berlin Museum are two excellent wings of an altar-piece, with figures of different Saints. Here *Luca* is seen in the strong contrasts observable in his art—in the caricatured head of the St. Jerome, and in the fine expression in the manner of the Umbrian School of the Magdalen.

In addition to his larger Michael-Angelesque peculiarities *Luca* may be known by the squareness of his forms in joints and extremities, and also by the frequent introduction of a brightly-coloured Roman scarf.

The master lived until 1524, but the precise date of his death is uncertain. Some of his works are painted in oil.

The last great period of Italian miniature-painting is connected with the school of the *Ghirlandaj*. It represented no longer that feeling of devotion which exacted the utmost splendour in the decoration of the Holy Scriptures, but rather a habit of sumptuous luxury, and a desire for the artistic enhancement of every object of daily life. In the gorgeous border decorations, and in the architecture of the backgrounds, now occur little genii with garlands of flowers, and figures of the gods, &c., in the most gorgeous style of antique ornament. Besides the family of the Medici, and the numerous ecclesiastical bodies, it was Mathias Corvinus, King of Hungary, who principally patronised the Florentine miniature-painters.

Of the works of one of the most renowned of this class, the Abbot of S. Clemente, *Don Bartolommeo della Gatta* (died 1490), no authentic specimen has been preserved. The best among the works still existing are attributable to one *Gherardo* of Florence, who had been originally appointed by Lorenzo the Magnificent to decorate the cathedral with mosaics, and, for that purpose, had been brought into connection with *Domenico Ghirlandajo*. His miniatures combine the style of that master, with an incredible splendour and delicacy of execution, which, in the Bible of Mathias Corvinus (about 1490), now in

the Library of the Vatican, seems to have reached the utmost possible perfection. Various books illuminated by *Gherardo* are said to be in the archives of the parish hospital of St. Gilio, in Florence; a missal of 1494 is in the Laurentian Library; an illuminated missal, also executed for the King of Hungary by another Florentine, *Attavante* by name, is in the library of the Dukes of Burgundy at Brussels; a breviary belonging to the Bishop of Graun is in the Royal Library at Paris. These works are quite in the style of the *Ghirlandaj*, and are executed in the highest decorative taste.* The Urbino Bible, also in the Vatican, 1478, is obviously by some Florentine hand. In the Laurentian Library at Florence, there are still several manuscripts of classic authors, said to have been executed by order of Lorenzo the Magnificent, containing but few miniatures, properly speaking, but on the other hand a mass of beautiful and delicate decorations.

CHAPTER II.

SCHOOLS OF UMBRIA, AND MASTERS OF A SIMILAR STYLE.

It was quite natural that the efforts at direct imitation which characterised so many important schools, and which aimed at mere truth and beauty of external form rather than at any spiritual depth of meaning, should call forth a decided manifestation of an opposite kind. This contrariety already existed in Florentine Art in the first half of the fifteenth century, when *Fra Giovanni da Fiesole*—whom we have placed among the artists of the preceding period, but who flourished at this time—appeared as a marked exception to the general tendency of the Florentine artists. It took place to a still greater extent in the latter part of this century in

* See, in the German translation of Vasari, vol. ii. part ii. p. 186, &c., the dissertation of the Editor; also p. 181, &c., and the notes in vol. ii. part i. p. 330. Also Waagen, 'Kunstw. und Künstl. in Paris,' p. 365, &c. D'Agincourt, 'Peinture,' plate 76.

the schools of Umbria, which must be considered to include those of Urbino, Perugia, and the March of Ancona.

The external habits and circumstances of life in this retired valley of the Upper Tiber tended to give a spiritual direction to Art. This region had distinguished itself in the middle ages above all other parts of Italy, as the peculiar seat of religious enthusiasm. Here were found the miraculous pictures; here were born and nurtured enthusiasts like St. Francis; while Assisi, with its Basilica, founded by this Saint, naturally calculated as it was to foster such feelings, was the centre round which the other townships ranged themselves as tributaries. Art followed the current of life here, as it did in the commercial cities of Florence and Venice; as it did also in Padua, where the study of classic lore predominated. Purity of soul, fervent unearthly longings, and an abandonment of the whole being to a pleasing and enthusiastic tenderness—these are the prevailing characteristics of the school to which we now turn our attention. The elevation and character of this school is therefore not so much owing to any decided and formal principle as to a particular mode of thought; and where this is first seen, there, whatever may have been the education of the individual artist, we recognise the commencement of the school of Umbria. Thus it was that this tendency of thought, extending by degrees to external forms, developed that idealising habit which naturally accompanies an exclusive attention to the expression of spiritual and devotional sentiment. To this may be attributed the comparatively early decline of the school, which, after earning for itself the eternal glory of having contributed to form *Raphael's* first, and in many respects permanent characteristics, sunk rapidly into the lowest feebleness and mannerism.

The immediate elements of this style appear to have been blended from various sources. Besides the universal influence of *Giotto*, from which no portion of central Italy was excluded—besides the painters of the March of Ancona and of the district of Urbino,* there were strong

* See Passavant's 'Rafael,' etc., vol. i. p. 435—a work which may be

Florentine influences imported by *Paolo Uccello*, *Benozzo Gozzoli*, and *Pietro della Francesca*. *Luca Signorelli* also painted in Urbino after 1484. In considering, however, the earliest specimens of the Umbrian mode of thought, the influence of the school of Siena is undeniable—derived in some measure from the labours of *Taddeo di Bartolo* in Perugia (see page 174). We have remarked that at Assisi different works, or remains of works, are still preserved, which show a decided affinity to the style and manner of this painter. The frescoes in the little church of S. Caterina (or S. Antonio di Via Superba) are of the number. The exterior of this building was embellished by *Martinellus* in 1422, the interior by *Matteo da Gualdo* and *Pietro Antonio da Fuligno*; the remains of the paintings of *Martinellus*, though unimportant as works of art, are decidedly Sienese in character; those of *Pietro Antonio*, on the side walls of the church, are more interesting, and have a beautiful mildness of expression.* A fresco next the door shows also a later hand, of the time of *Pinturicchio*. A large window in the choir of S. Domenico at Perugia, containing a number of figures of Saints in separate compartments, gives us no trace of any particular school. It is supposed to have been executed, 1411, by *Fra Bartolommeo da Perugia*.

But the great Umbrian master whom we must here consider is one who especially derived much of his development from the Florentine school, and powerfully affected it in return. The great laws of composition bequeathed by *Giotto*—the plastic element introduced by the renaissance sculptors—the science of linear perspective, which owed its first impulse to *Paolo Uccello*—the aerial perspective illustrated by *Masaccio*—the architecture of *Brunelleschi*—the changes

accepted as the chief authority for the history of the Umbrian school. See also the Essays by Gaye, in the *Kunstbl.*, 1837, No. 83, etc.

* Compare Rumohr, '*Ital. Forsch.*' ii. 312, etc., where, however, the little church is not called by the name it generally bears in Assisi. In other buildings in the same place we find paintings in the style of the Sienese masters, particularly of *Taddeo di Bartolo*; in the *Confraternità* of St. Francis, for example, where, in a niche on the outside, St. Francis's Miracle of the Roses, and other subjects, are represented in a uniform green colour

in the nature and application of technical processes begun by *Pesello* and *Baldorinetti*, and extended by the *Pollaiuoli*—all these influences told upon a master as original as any just mentioned, who nevertheless strictly belongs to the category of the Umbrian school.

Pietro di Benedetto dei Franceschi, commonly called *Pietro della Francesca*, was born at Borgo S. Sepolero, probably between 1415–20. His earliest known instructor was, as already stated, *Domenico Veneziano*, with whom he doubtless came into contact during that master's residence at Perugia, and under whom he served in the frescoes of the Portinari Chapel. Surrounded by the naturalism which then asserted itself among the Florentine painters, his powerful mind gave it a truer, if not a higher character. The knowledge of perspective obtained, perhaps empirically, by *Paolo Uccello* was reduced by *Pietro della Francesca* to rules which have hardly admitted of subsequent improvement.*

The laws of aerial perspective, of the harmony of colours, the proportions of light and shade, and the position of objects in space, were equally developed by one whose feeling for precise calculation went *pari passu* with that of pictorial representation. In this combination of science and art he was strictly the precursor of *Leonardo da Vinci*, and it is further known that Fra Luigi Paccioli, a celebrated mathematician, and an intimate friend of *Pietro della Francesca*, was in later years in constant communication with *Leonardo* in Milan. It is also evident that the more or less experimental efforts in oil-painting then prevailing, and afterwards carried to perfection by *Leonardo da Vinci*, derived their intermediate improvement from the hand of *Pietro*. We thus obtain the view of a new and most original mind, hitherto not sufficiently acknowledged. For proofs of his knowledge of perspective and general grandeur of conception, the reader

* The late Herr Harzen discovered in the Ambrogian Library at Milan a treatise on perspective by the master. It had lain unacknowledged under the misnomer of 'Pietro, pittore di Burges,' doubtless a misreading for 'Pietro di Burgo' (S. Sepolero), his now well-known signature. Sketches of edifices by *Pietro della Francesca* have been assigned to *Bramante*, and the style and proportion of his architecture, as well as the taste of its ornaments, are at least equal to those of *Domenico Ghirlandajo*.

can refer at once to a valuable specimen of this rare painter, the Baptism of our Lord, in the National Gallery. Here the figure of our Lord, with the finely-foreshortened feet, the grand bearing of the three angels, traditionally present, the careful anatomy of a figure in the background, stripping himself for the rite, the winding of the stream, the rendering of its argillaceous bed, and the correct perspective of the reflections, all show the strong realism combined with the accurate knowledge of a powerfully subjective mind. The picture has been too much injured to retain more than the preparation of the colours.

The type of female heads peculiar to this master does not, however, appear in this work, though slightly in the angels; namely, a class of feature which, in its extreme character, partakes of the African; with broad face, wide nostrils, meeting eyebrows, and thick lips. Seen, however, in a modified form, as in his Madonnas, with hair concealed and finely-draped head, there is a certain grandeur and solemnity in this type. Also, however lacking in conventional beauty of face, his Saints and angels command admiration by singular dignity and appropriateness of character.

Little certain is known of the master's life. According to Vasari, *Domenico Veneziano* and *Pietro della Francesca* laboured together in the Sacristy of the Santa Casa at Loretto, though the only works which now adorn the walls are those of *Luca Signorelli*, *Pietro's* pupil. The same authority states that he was called to Rome in the time of Nicholas V., and painted two frescoes in the Vatican, afterwards destroyed to make room for *Raphael*.^{*} At all events it is certain that he was engaged by Sigismund Malatesta to adorn the newly-erected church of S. Francesco at Rimini, in 1451. Here, in the Cappella delle Reliquie, he left a remarkable fresco, now, of course, partially effaced. This represents Malatesta himself kneeling before S. Sigismondo; two dogs, black and white, accompany their master. Above is a large medallion, con-

^{*} See surmise that *Pietro della Francesca's* Vision of Constantine, one of the frescoes thus destroyed, suggested the remarkable effect of light in *Raphael's* Deliverance of St. Peter, which was executed in its place.—'Literature of the Fine Arts'—Life of Raphael, by Sir C. L. Eastlake, 2nd edition, p. 196.



taining a view of the Castle of Rimini, with an inscription and the date 1446 (perhaps the date of its erection). The portrait of Malatesta has great simplicity and air of truth; the hands are fine, and the proportion of the figures to the architecture, which is most elegant in design, are characteristic of the master. On the lower border of a painted framework in purest classic style is the inscription, "Pietri de Burgo opus, 1451."

The frescoes of the History of the Cross, in S. Francesco, at Arezzo,* gave occasion for the entire display of all the qualities which have been mentioned as forming his style. Though much injured they have happily not suffered restoration. Our space does not admit description of the various episodes of this quaint legend. The Vision of Constantine may be singled out for a power of foreshortening in the (much injured) angel, and for the effect of light.† The Virgin in the Annunciation, a pendant to the last, is of grand character. In the Duomo at Arezzo, a single figure of the Magdalen standing, in a painted niche on the wall near the door of the Sacristy, is also worthy of his hand. *Pietro della Francesca* is seen more or less with the same characteristics in his altar-piece in the chapel of the Hospital of the Misericordia at Borgo S. Sepolcro—the Flagellation—with three fine portrait figures divided from the subject by architecture; and in other fine works at Urbino. But another phase of the master must be cited, seen in a small dyptich in the Uffizi. This represents the two portraits of Federigo of Urbino, and Battista Sforza, seen in profile and executed with the utmost precision of drawing and minuteness and softness of method. On the obverse is a representation of each personage, seated in a triumphal car, with various allegorical figures and allusions which now defy explanation (see woodcut). These works are landmarks in the progress of art, which here unites itself with the minute reality of *Antonello da Messina*, and through him

* See note, to *Agnolo Gaddi*, p. 140.

† A preparatory drawing of this subject, once in the Lawrence collection, was mistaken for the hand of *Correggio*.

with the equally minute but less poetically conceived productions of the *Van Eycks*.

Pietro della Francesca is believed to have been in Ferrara, and to have left frescoes, since destroyed, in the neighbouring palace of Schifanoia, decorated by Duke Borso between 1451 and 1468. *Pietro della Francesca* is known to have been still living in 1509.

The name of *Fra Carnovale* is mentioned by writers on art in connection with that of *Pietro della Francesca*. Modern researches, however, only prove that this statement rests on very insufficient foundations. A stately picture in the Brera, of course much injured, formerly the altar-piece of S. Bernardino at Urbino, representing the Virgin and Child with four Angels and four Saints, and with Duke Federigo of Urbino kneeling in armour on one side, traditionally bears the name of *Fra Carnovale*. The figures have a certain analogy with *Pietro della Francesca*, and the semi-dome above is finely drawn. A St. Michael trampling on the dragon, with the monster's head in his hand, now in the National Gallery, is evidently by the same hand.

Another name of more importance connected with *Pietro della Francesca* is that of *Melozzo da Forlì*, of the family of the Ambrosi, who was born at Forlì about 1438. Besides a certain affinity both in style and in the science of art, there are circumstances in life, in spite of the difference of age, common to both. Both are eulogised by the mathematician Fra Luca Paccioli in his treatise on architecture; both are extolled in terms of friendship in the 'Cronaca' of *Giovanni Santi*:

"Melozzo a me si caro, che in prospettiva
Ha steso tanto il passo."

It is supposed that *Melozzo* owed part of his education to *Pietro della Francesca*; at the same time a certain Mantegnesque character of drapery suggests a possible connection between *Melozzo* and *Ansuino* of Forlì, who assisted *Mantegna* in the Eremitani frescoes at Padua. Nothing more definite, however, is known of the painter's early life. The first records of *Melozzo* begin at Rome under Sixtus IV., who

erected the Sistine Chapel, repaired the church of the SS. Apostoli, and restored the Library of the Vatican, then under the guardianship of the learned Platina. These events occurred between 1475-80. The last mentioned was commemorated by a fresco executed by *Melozzo*, long an ornament of the wall, but subsequently transferred (to its great damage) to canvas, and hung now in a dark place between windows in the Vatican. It represents Sixtus IV. enthroned, with Platina kneeling before him, and attended by two cardinals and two other figures. This work was long attributed to *Pietro della Francesca*, and the fine proportion of the figures in space, and the graceful architecture, all point to a worthy representative of the great Umbrian master.

In the tribune of the church of the SS. Apostoli, *Melozzo* represented the Ascension of our Lord, surrounded with cherubim. This is one of the most grand and daring feats of foreshortening that art has bequeathed, and may be considered as the first illustration of that science which *Mantegna* and *Correggio* further developed. The church, or the tribune part, was destroyed in 1711, but the figure of Christ was sawn from the wall, and transferred to the staircase of the Quirinal Palace, where, though much damaged, it still exists.* Fragments of figures of angels playing on musical instruments and exhibiting the same strong foreshortenings were also preserved, and are placed in the Sacristy of St. Peter's;† these have great grandeur of character.

Sixtus IV. founded the Academy of St. Luke, where, foremost among the first autograph inscriptions is that of "Melotius pie. pa." (pietor papalis.)

In Forlì itself *Melozzo* is only represented by one work, and that of a very exceptional class, called the "Pesta Pepe" or "Pound the Pepper,"‡ being a fresco originally painted for a sign over a grocer's shop, representing a figure in violent exertion, wielding with both hands a heavy pestle over a huge mortar. Here again he has foreshortened

* Engraved in Ottley's 'Italian School of Design,' pl. 45, and in D'Agincourt, pl. 142.

† Engraved in D'Agincourt, pl. 142.

‡ Engraved in Rosini's 'Storia dell Pittura Italiana,' vol. iii. p. 167.

the figure as if seen from below. It is now in the Collegio at Forlì.

No record has been found to prove that *Melozzo* laboured in Urbino, though his acquaintance with *Giovanni Santi* renders it probable. But certain imaginary portraits of celebrated historical characters which decorated the Palace at Urbino, ten of which were copied on a small scale into the youthful *Raphael's* sketch-book (now at Venice*), have been attributed to *Melozzo*. These works were at a comparatively recent date divided between the Roman families of the Sciarra and the Barberini. The Sciarra portion passed into the Campana collection, and is now in the Louvre; the other portion remains in the Barberini Palace. Among other personages these represent Plato, Solon, Virgil, Thomas Aquinas, St. Augustine, Aristotle, St. Jerome, Dante, Cardinal Bessarion, and Pope Sixtus IV. The two last were possibly taken from life. These are most remarkable works, fully the size of life, executed with great breadth and luminousness, with a free and masterly touch, and a certain grandeur of style. The position of those Campana and Barberini pictures, the latter including one of Federigo Duke of Urbino, with his son Guidobaldo—a boy of about seven—have facilitated a comparison with the known fresco, in the Vatican, by *Melozzo*, of Sixtus IV. and Platina, by which peculiar similarities in treatment have been identified. Three other pictures, decidedly in oil, two of which are in the National Gallery, the third in the Berlin Museum, each corresponding in subject—viz., an enthroned female figure, with a votary kneeling before her—and connected by an inscription on a painted cornice relating to Federigo of Urbino and Montefeltre, and known to have formed part of a series of seven, are believed to have decorated the library at Urbino. These again offer great similarity in character with these portraits and with the fresco of Platina. Another picture of the same class, but much injured and restored, and also containing a portrait of the unmistakable Federigo, is now in Her Majesty's possession at Windsor. A certain Flemish

* See Photographs of drawings by old masters at Venice.

treatment in all the above-mentioned works has led to the surmise that they may have been the work of *Justus van Ghent* (*Giusto da Guanto*), who worked in Urbino in the time of Federigo. Those, however, who knew the one work at Urbino, The Last Supper, by *Justus*, repudiate this surmise, the author of that work being quite incapable of executing those we have described. Their authorship, it can only be said, is one of those questions in the connoisseur-world which at present remain unsolved; the name of *Melozzo*, as given in the National Gallery, is meanwhile the most worthy and probable suggestion.* *Melozzo* died in 1494, leaving a pupil who, from his occasionally adopting his master's name appended to his own in his signatures, has been in his finest works mistaken for him.

Marco Palmezzano, or "*Marcus de Melotius*," as he also signs himself, was pupil of *Melozzo da Forlì*. The date of his birth is unknown, but his additional signature "*Pictor Foroliviensis*," shows that he was a native of Forlì. He followed his master, and is even believed to have gone beyond him, in the study of geometry, and in the working of architectural plans. To this may perhaps be imputed the hardness and dryness which, with some exceptions, characterise his works. He appears as a fresco painter in the chapel of S. Biagio in

* Among the memoranda by Sir Charles Eastlake are the following remarks on these works, dating from 1856 to 1861. Speaking of the three pictures (two in the National Gallery, and one in the Berlin Museum, called by him "the Conti pictures," from their having belonged to the Conti family at Florence), he says: "The name of *Melozzo da Forlì* was first thought of from the seeming impossibility of finding among the resident painters at Urbino of the time (1470-80) any other artist good enough for such works. This reasoning applies, however, more particularly to the portraits of celebrated men in the Campana and Barberini collections at Rome, which must have existed before the death of Federigo (in 1483), from which *Raphael* drew when very young, and which, in some instances, for example, in that of Sixtus IV., are closely allied in style to the Conti pictures. These portraits have also been supposed to be Flemish, and *Justus* of Ghent (*Giusto da Guanto*), who actually painted at Urbino in the time of Federigo, may seem a plausible name. Judging, however, from the large specimen by that painter at Urbino (a Last Supper), it is certain that he was not equal to such works."

Further, describing the fresco in the Vatican, the known work of *Melozzo*, Sir Charles Eastlake says: "The draperies (sleeves) of two figures on the left are quite like some of the portraits at the Marchese Campana's; heads, some of them, as fine; hands (nails) same style; accessories, gold ornaments &c. allowing for difference in fresco, the same."

S. Girolamo at Forlì—the ceiling of which exhibits that power of foreshortening, and taste and fancy in architectural forms and decorations, which he inherited from *Melozzo*, though in other respects he remains far inferior to him. Frescoes in the Capella del Tesoro in the cathedral at Loretto are also attributed to him. His panel-pictures, all in oil, are numerous, and bear witness to a life of great activity. His *chef-d'œuvre* is an altar-piece in the chapel of the Orfanotrofio delle Femine at the Michelline at Faenza, completed by the painter in the year 1500 : it represents a Virgin and Child on a throne which is perforated below, with figures and landscape seen through ; a Saint on horseback and St. Michael are on the left ; and on the right St. Anthony grasping the hand of St. Jerome. This work is finely executed, with carefully drawn hands, and with all the master's skill in elaborate and tasteful architecture.

Another fine, and robustly-coloured work, St. Anthony enthroned with the Baptist and St. Sebastian, the pig below, and with the master's usual gilt and arabesqued pilasters, is in the Carmine at Forlì.

A favourite subject with *Marco Palmezzano*, is our Lord bearing His Cross, of which the finest example was exhibited at Manchester in 1857. His works are too numerous to specify, and many a hitherto anonymous or misnamed picture has been identified as his. They abound in the churches at Forlì, and in the Pinacoteca of that place, where his own portrait, by himself, signed and dated 1536, is also preserved, showing an aged white-haired and robust man. Almost all his works are signed. The date of his death is unknown.

*Giovanni Santi** was one of those who derived light from the brilliant galaxy of talent collected in Urbino by Duke Federigo, including *Pietro della Francesca*, *Luca Signorelli*, and *Melozzo*, and to the splendour of which he in his turn contributed. As father of *Raphael*, *Giovanni Santi* has always been an object of interest to historians, but he has hardly

* 'Elogio storico di *Giovanni Santi*, pittore e poeta,' Urbino, 1822. See especially Passavant, "Rafael von Urbino und sein Vater Giovanni Santi," Leipzig, 1839, vol. i. p. 11.

received the credit due to himself. His family suffered in their ancestral property by a raid from the ferocious Sigismund Malatesta, which caused them to remove into the town of Urbino in 1446, at which time *Giovanni* was a boy. His instructor in art is not recorded, but the fact that *Pietro della Francesca*, on being invited to Urbino in 1469, lodged in his house, is a sign that he was already associated with the profession. *Giovanni* was also known for his love of polite literature—a taste also easily fostered at the Court of Urbino; and a curious chronicle in rhyme, celebrating the acts of Duke Federigo, preserved in the Vatican, has attracted recent notice as a cotemporary record of the principal painters, not only in Urbino and the surrounding territory, but in all parts of Italy. The affectionate terms in which he eulogises *Pietro della Francesca* and *Melozzo*, as already quoted, show the friendship he maintained with them. He is also supposed to have known *Andrea Mantegna*, who receives one of his highest tributes; at all events the correctness of *Giovanni Santi's* judgment is being more and more ratified as the knowledge of the old masters increases. The style of this master is simple and serious, and of conscientious finish; a quiet gentleness characterises his heads, and especially his children's heads, in the loveliness of which he shows himself the true forerunner of his great son. He partakes of the character of the painters around him, and even shows Mantegnesque tendencies, but he fails in the force or depth of the Umbrian masters, properly so called, and his colouring has a peculiar light leaden tone, deficient in warmth. His outlines are also frequently hard. His earlier pictures are generally found in the March of Ancona. For instance, a pleasing but not thoroughly studied Visitation of the Virgin, in S. Maria Nuova at Fano; a Madonna with four Saints of a freer grace and grander cast of drapery, in the hospital church of S. Croce at the same place; a so-called Madonna del Popolo, protecting the faithful with her mantle, with a lively, individual, and even almost humorous head, in the hospital oratory at Montefiore; and a Madonna with four Saints, of a serious and mild character, dated 1484, in the Pieve at Gradara, not far from Pesaro. An Annuncia-

tion of his early time, harsh in drawing and colouring, and of no great merit, is in the Brera at Milan. A Madonna enthroned, with St. Thomas Aquinas, St. Jerome, St. Catherine, St. Thomas the Apostle, and the donor, of unequal style, and in some respects strictly in a Mantegnesque manner, is in the Berlin Museum.

Giovanni's most developed pictures are, however, chiefly those which were executed in Urbino; for example, a St. Sebastian and archers—the latter in vigorous and successful foreshortening, one of whom reappears in the figure breaking his rod, in *Raphael's* “Sposalizio”—with figures of the donors, is in the oratory of St. Sebastian at Urbino; a Madonna with Saints of almost Florentine character, of the year 1489, is at Montefiorentino, not far from Urbania (see woodcut); also one of his chief pictures, and of the same year, is in S. Francesco at Urbino, namely, the Madonna with Saints and donors (these latter not the portraits of his own family, as is currently believed), with two side pictures of Saints, whose drapery clearly points to *Mantegna* and others. Finally, *Giovanni* is seen in his highest beauty in the frescoes of the church of the Dominicans at Cagli (Cappella Tiranni), of the year 1492, representing a Madonna enthroned, with Angels and Saints; the Resurrection and the First Person of the Trinity, surrounded by cherubs, above; also an Annunciation and a dead Christ, with two Saints. His drawing is here not only fuller and more animated, and his colouring fresher, than in his other works, but in the expression of many of the figures he foreshadows the grace of his son *Raphael*. The fresco of the Madonna in *Giovanni's* own house at Urbino, which has enjoyed the reputation of being *Raphael's* earliest work, is now acknowledged to be by the hand of his father.*

The teaching or influence of *Pietro della Francesca* is shown in his correct foreshortenings and perspective. *Giovanni Santi* worked in that mixed vehicle, very different to pure tempera, and yet not, properly speaking, oil, which in the

* An excellent Madonna with Children and Saints, now in the Berlin Museum, was formerly erroneously inscribed with *Giovanni Santi's* name. It is now recognised as the work of *Timoteo della Vite*.



MADONNA WITH SAINTS; an altarpiece by Giovanni Santi
at Montefiorentino.

hands of the *Pollaiuoli* had formed a transition between the two. *Giovanni Santi* died in 1494, and was buried in the church of S. Francesco at Urbino.

We must here briefly record the names of a few painters who dot the remoter places of the Apennines, and who, however second-rate, yet contribute to those numerous currents of art which irrigated the centre of Italy. Taking up the stream from S. Severino, we come to Camerino, which claims two painters, *Giovanni Boccati*, and *Girolamo di Giovanni*, generally believed to be his son. The first is known by a signed altar-piece, dated 1437, with predella, now in the gallery at Perugia. The Virgin and Child are seen enthroned between two angels, and surrounded with seraphim. SS. Domenick and Francis, accompanied by the four Fathers of the Latin Church, each present a kneeling brother of their respective Orders. A peculiar feature presents itself in the dog held in a leash by the Infant Christ, and which is licking his hand. This painter bears an Umbrian physiognomy, with features of a Sicnese kind.

Girolamo di Giovanni, of Camerino, has also a picture, signed and dated 1473, at Monte S. Martino near Fermo, the Madonna and Child, with angels, between SS. Thomas and Cyprian. This tells the influence of the *Vivarini* which extended along the sea-board of the Marches, to which we shall revert.

From Camerino the distance is short, northward, to Gualdo Tadino, on the eastern slope of the Apennines, to which place belongs *Matteo da Gualdo*, who shows an affinity to *Boccati*, and whose profuse patterns, ornaments, positive colours, and affectation of grace bespeak the poorer characteristics of the Umbrian school. Reminiscences of the manner of *Benozzo Gozzoli*, also appear in *Matteo da Gualdo*, accounted for by the fact that a signed fresco by *Matteo*, dated 1468, an enthroned Madonna with angels and Saints and the Annunciation above, occupies a wall in SS. Antonio e Jacopo at Assisi, in a chapel decorated with frescoes by *Benozzo's* assistant, *Pietro Antonio*. *Matteo* is seen again in a signed fresco at S. Maria della Circa at Sigillo, on the hills outside Gubbio, representing the Virgin and Child.

This master also introduces the same strange feature observed before, for in the Annunciation at Assisi a dog accompanies the Virgin, and at Sigillo, the Infant holds a dog in its arms.*

Bartolommeo di Tommaso of Fuligno, who laboured at the beginning of the fifteenth century, displays much the same Umbrian types in a picture in S. Salvador at Fuligno.

Pietro Antonio, just alluded to, belongs also to Fuligno. He is known to have studied under *Benozzo Gozzoli*, and frescoes attributed to him repeat not only the forms of his master but some of his impressions. The Winds, for instance, in *Giotto's* Navicella, which *Benozzo* had seen and perhaps copied at Rome, are imitated in a chapel called S. Maria in Campis, a short distance from Fuligno on the way to Spoleto.

This painter leads us to his cotemporary and fellow townsman, *Niccolò Alunno* of Fuligno, who signs himself "Nicolaus Fulignas." He may be characterised as uniting such feeling belonging to *Fra Angelico* as *Benozzo* could transmit, with a native Umbrian tendency; two styles which had a natural affinity. *Niccolò Alunno* gave more expression to the gentle type of Madonna and angels hitherto aimed at in this part of Italy, and in his male figures he has an earnestness of expression, accompanied by greater fulness and sturdiness than the succeeding Umbrian painters endorsed. In his delineations of St. Francis, which are frequent, we remark a peculiar enthusiasm; but his representations of suffering are violent and exaggerated. His earliest known work—a Madonna with Angels and Saints, 1458—is preserved upon the high altar of the Franciscan church at Diruta, between Perugia and Todi. His Annunciation, of the year 1466, in S. Maria Nuova at Perugia, is an interesting picture, severe and solemn, almost in the style of the early Sienese masters, though full of grace and feeling. Above, is the First Person of the Trinity, among cherubim;

* Another *Gualdo*, a bad imitator of *Luca Signorelli*, who signs himself "Bernardus Hieronimi Gualden pingebat," is seen in a picture at Asinalunga, the Madonna with a club driving away the demon from a woman with a child.

below, are Saints in prayer, with the donor and other figures. The head of one of the angels is of great beauty. "A naturalistic tendency, not confined to this specimen, is seen here in the *priedieu* of the Madonna, which has an open cupboard with books, &c." * Other altar-pieces by him are in the church of the Castle of S. Severino (1468), and in S. Francesco at Gualdo (1471). Another, similar to this last-named, in the sacristy of the principal church at Nocera (not far from Fuligno), belongs to the finest works of this master. The chief compartments of an altar-piece of the church of the Augustins, S. Niccolò, at Fuligno (1492), are still preserved there: they include a Nativity, with the Resurrection above, and Saints on each side. The predella pictures, containing scenes from the Passion, of highly animated and dramatic character, amounting almost to caricature, are now in the Louvre. Frescoes by *Alunno* are also preserved in S. Maria fuori la Porta at Fuligno; they are much injured, however, and are of no high merit. Fragments also still exist of the pictures originally belonging to the high altar in the cathedral at Assisi: they represented a Pietà, with two angels, who, according to Vasari, wept so naturally that a better artist could hardly have been more successful. His last known work, the altar-piece of S. Angelo, in La Bastia, not far from Perugia, 1499, is of inferior value. Many other of his works are found dispersed in the March of Ancona. Almost all those we have mentioned, according to the early, though at that time almost obsolete, usage, consisted of several pieces. A pleasing Madonna, a whole-length figure on a gold ground, is in the Berlin Museum. He attempted also foreshortenings and drew minutely and carefully. Without attributing to him much power and influence he yet held a place destined to be raised to the level of true beauty by *Perugino*, and which is thus connected with the ultimate culmination of *Raphael*. No record of *Niccolò Alunno* appears after 1499.

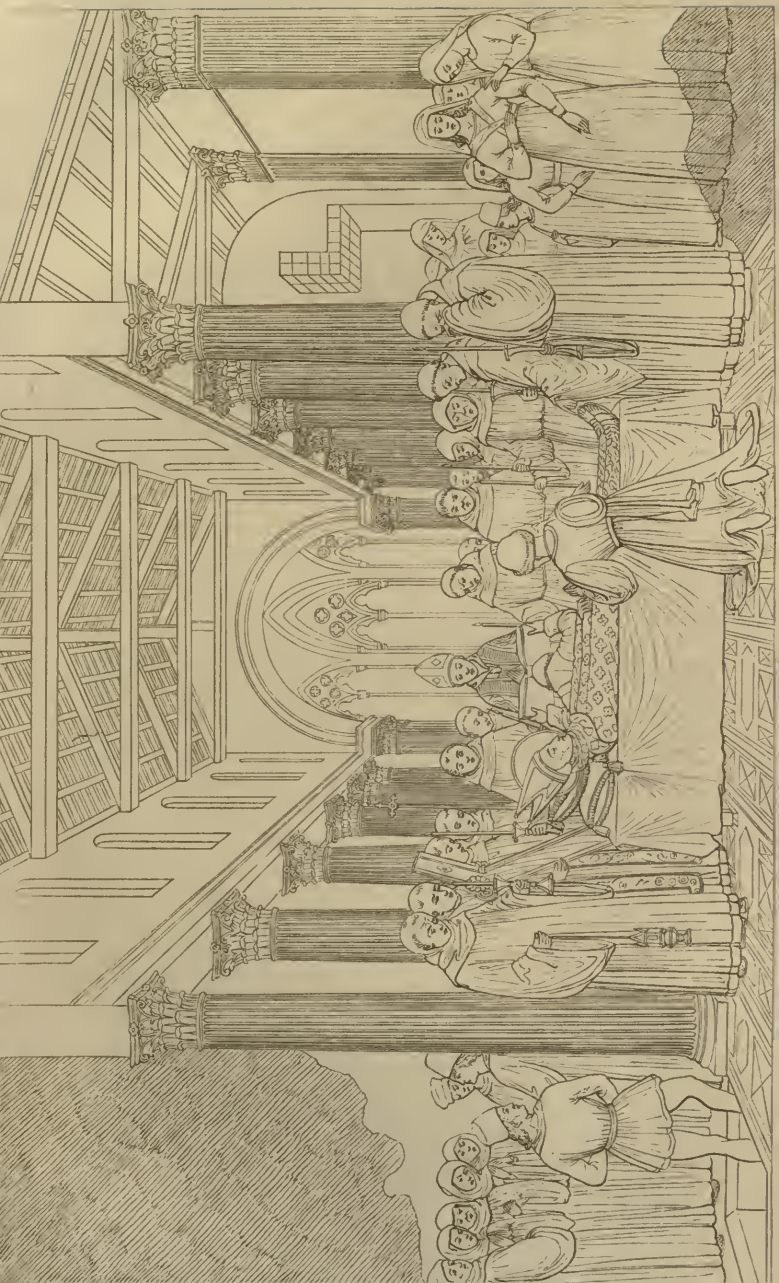
One of the earliest masters who brought the school of Perugia into notice was *Benedetto Bonfigli*. In the absence of all records regarding the early life of this painter, his

* Memorandum by Sir C. L. Eastlake; Perugia, 1856.

alleged connection with *Perugino* receives no corroboration, nor does the character of his art supply the deficiency.* He approaches in some respects the character of *Pietro della Francesca*, and in others that of *Gentile da Fabriano*, and *Benozzo Gozzoli*. The frescoes in the Palazzo del Consiglio at Perugia (in the antechamber of the Delegates), begun in 1454, are the earliest records of his art. They represent the legends of St. Louis of Toulouse and S. Ercolano, and though of no great merit in action or form, they have naïveté of expression. The architectural backgrounds (see woodcut) are correct in perspective and delicately executed. *Bonfigli* has a certain Umbrian grace and sweetness of colour, with a love of detail almost akin to Flemish art, and his angels, usually wearing crowns of roses, have a charm of their own. His best work, an Adoration of the Kings, in S. Domenico, is ostensibly of the year 1460. A Madonna with Saints, in the Academy, and two paintings on wood—Angels with the Instruments of the Passion—belong to his more pleasing productions. On the other hand, a large picture of Christ in Glory, and the Acts of S. Bernardino, in the chapel of the brotherhood of that name (after 1461, painted probably as a banner for processions), are stiff, hard, and portrait-like. The same may be said of a Madonna with a Dead Christ, and two Saints, SS. Girolamo and Leonardo, of the year 1469, in S. Pietro de' Cassinensi. The date of his will, 1496, is the only clue to the approximate time of *Bonfigli's* death.

The last-mentioned master is connected with a somewhat younger painter, *Fiorenzo di Lorenzo*, who, in picturesque arrangement and application of his subject, and in certain refinements in the conception of his forms—pointing, perhaps, to an acquaintance with the Paduan school—is decidedly in advance of him. *Fiorenzo* is believed to have laboured in *Bonfigli's* atelier, and a series of eight panels, seen in the Academy at Perugia, of the Life of S. Bernardino, is assigned to them jointly. The works of *Fiorenzo* are rare. In the

* Sir C. L. Eastlake remarks, Perugia, 1858, "The only similarity between *Bonfigli* and *Perugino* consists in what is technically termed 'the eyes,' or peculiar folds in the drapery."



sacristy of S. Francesco de' Conventuali, at Perugia, are two pictures of St. Peter and St. Paul, inscribed with the name of the artist and the year 1487, which are very careful in execution and in excellent preservation; also the upper portion of a large semicircular picture, representing a Madonna and Child, and two adoring angels. A graceful Madonna with Angels is in the Palazzo del Consiglio (over the door of the Sala del Cadasto Nuovo); another is in a side chapel of S. Agostino. Another work assigned to the master, dated 1475, the First Person of the Trinity between SS. Romano and Rocco, is a fresco in S. Francesco at Diruta. This work, as well as others, shows the dawning influence of *Perugino* himself. A Madonna on gold ground, dated 1481, in the Berlin Museum, leads to the supposition that a picture of a dry character—the Adoration of the Magi, in the Academy at Perugia, hitherto pronounced to be an early production of *Perugino*, and now strangely misnamed a *Ghirlandajo*—is by *Fiorenzo di Lorenzo*. The life of this painter is accounted for up to 1499.

We now come to the greatest name associated with Perugia. *Pietro Vanucci della Pieve* ("de Castro plebis")—so called from his birthplace, Castello della Pieve—or more commonly, *Pietro Perugino*, from his residence at Perugia—was born in 1446. His early instruction has been assigned to *Bonfigli*; but it is known that he acted as assistant to *Pietro della Francesca* at Arezzo. He thus laid the foundation of that Umbrian feeling which is never absent from his works. About the year 1475, *Perugino* appears in Florence, studying under *Verocchio* with *Leonardo da Vinci* and *Lorenzo di Credi*. To this time *Giovanni Santi* refers in his chronicle:

"Due giovin par d'etate e par d'amori
Leonardo da Vinci e'l Perusino
Pier della Pieve ch'è un divin pittore."

It is known that *Perugino*, inspired doubtless by *Pietro della Francesca*, was versed in the study of perspective, and he and *Leonardo da Vinci* are named together for proficiency in that science by a cotemporary writer.* There is no doubt also

* Caporali. Vitruv: ub. sup. p. 16.

that they studied the mysteries of the then new art of oil-painting together. This art *Perugino* was among the first to bring to perfection; at the same time he excelled in the art of *tempera*. A circular picture at Paris, once in the Corsini Palace at Rome, then in the Royal Gallery at the Hague, and now in the Louvre, is a beautiful specimen by him of this method. The dates of *Perugino*'s earlier works are difficult to define. Many small pictures exist, particularly in Florence, evidently executed before he had experienced the influence of the Florentine school. They display some characteristic peculiarities, but belong decidedly to his earlier style. A circular picture of this kind is in the Museum of Berlin, a Madonna with two adoring angels. During his stay in Florence, between 1475 and 1489, he appears at one time to have rather inclined to the then prevalent taste for direct imitation, to which several works executed about 1470-1480 bear witness. There is a proof of this in an Adoration of the Kings in S. Maria Nuova at Perugia, with the portrait of the artist, who appears about thirty years of age; the kings and their followers are represented standing together, in the beautiful Florentine manner, quiet and characteristic. A picture of the Crucifixion, with Saints, in the church of La Calza at Florence, reminds us decidedly of *Luca Signorelli*. In about the year 1480 *Perugino* was summoned to Rome by Sixtus IV., in order to contribute his share to the decorations of the Sistine Chapel, where he was the only artist employed not a Florentine. Some of these works were afterwards destroyed to make room for *Michael Angelo*'s "Last Judgment;" but those still remaining—the Baptism of Christ and the Delivering the Keys to Peter—are decidedly in the Florentine manner; this is apparent in the composition, in the arrangement of the numerous groups of spectators, and in the drapery. We pass over other works of this period.

After *Perugino* had thus passed through the schools, he returned to his own first manner. If his early works indicate the prevailing tone of his mind and feelings, and if the effect of study appears to predominate in those which



CHRIST'S CHARGE TO PETER; a fresco by Pietro Perugino, Sistine Chapel.



follow, the period in which he returned to his natural taste, embodying with it that force and clearness which his intermediate study had taught, is necessarily the greatest and most interesting epoch of the artist's life. It was at this time he acquired that grace and softness, that tender enthusiastic earnestness, which give so great a charm to his pictures; and if they sometimes leave much to be wished in force and variety of character, the heads—especially those depicting youth and ardent expression—are of surpassing beauty. In the colouring, again, both of the flesh and drapery, in the warm, bright skies, and in the well-managed gradations of his landscapes, he had great and varied merit. Altogether these works are proofs, not only of the highest point of attainment in this school, but also evidences of its intrinsic defects. *Perugino*, it would seem, intentionally avoided the higher department of dramatic historical painting; and all the other painters of his school (*Raphael* always excepted) remain in this respect considerably behind the Florentines. In accounting for this we must remember the comparative ignorance of anatomical action which prevailed in this school, and its restriction to a few and ever-repeated positions. The hitherto unexampled intensity of *Perugino*'s otherwise monotonous expression, though it made amends for other absent qualities, yet became, in course of time, a source of failing in itself, by degenerating frequently into mere mannerism. Where a number of his pictures are seen together, the upcast eye and the expression of semi-woeful ecstasy soon pall upon the spectator. There is something characteristic also of *Perugino* in those rich and sparkling decorations of his robes and drapery, which, in a more positive mode of viewing real life, would have taken a more subordinate position. The figures of angels, so numerous in his pictures, and which in the Florentine and Paduan school of the fifteenth century appear as powerful youths, generally half nude, are here represented, according to the early taste, draped, of no sex, and frequently of supernatural purity and beauty. His best works were executed between 1490 and 1505. "The following are among the most celebrated:—The altar-piece painted for the church of S.

Domenico at Fiesole, and dated 1493, representing the Madonna and Child enthroned, with the Baptist and St. Sebastian standing beside them, now in the gallery of the Uffizi. This picture is remarkable for a very refined character and expression in the Madonna. Another, with the same date, somewhat similar in subject, in the Belvedere Gallery at Vienna. A picture with the Madonna with two Saints, SS. Augustin and James, dated 1494, in the church of S. Agostino at Cremona.”*

In 1495, the execution or completion of four splendid works show not only the perfection of his powers, but the rapidity of his hand. These are, firstly, the Pietà in the Pitti, formerly in S. Chiara, a work much injured by neglect, but still preserving features hardly surpassed even by his great scholar. No picture, perhaps, can be quoted containing so many heads of exquisitely pathetic expression. Three sketches for it are in the gallery of the Uffizi.

Secondly: The enthroned Madonna and Child surrounded by the patron Saints of Perugia, painted for and formerly in the Cappella del Magistrato at Perugia, and now, after having been taken to Paris, in the gallery of the Vatican.†

Thirdly: The Ascension, painted for S. Pietro Maggiore at Perugia, and now in the gallery at Lyons; and Fourthly, the Sposalizio, or Marriage of the Virgin, once in the Duomo at Perugia, and now at the museum of Caen in Normandy (see woodcut).

The Ascension was taken to Paris by the French in its entire state, but now exists piecemeal in various galleries. The principal centre is at Lyons – presented to the Lyonnais by Pius VII.; the lunette is in S. Germain l'Auxerrois at Paris; three pilaster Saints are in the Vatican, five more in S. Pietro at Perugia; and the predella, in the Museum at Rouen. Another excellent work is an altar-piece of the year 1497 in the church of S. Maria Nuova at Fano; the centre picture contains the Madonna with Saints, the upper lunette an Entombment, and the predella five subjects from the

* ‘Materials for a History of Oil Painting,’ by Sir Charles Eastlake, vol. ii. p. 128.

† See a curious and amusing account of this picture given by Marotti in ‘Lettere pittoriche Perugine,’ pp. 146–152.

life of the Virgin. These predella pictures are very fine. Three of them were copied by *Raphael*.

The picture of the Madonna and Child, round whom kneel six figures, while angels hover above, painted in 1498 for the Confraternity "della Consolazione" in Perugia, is in S. Domenico in that city. About the same time was painted the altar-piece called the Family of St. Anna, formerly in the church of S. Maria de' Fossi at Perugia, and now in the museum at Marseilles. Two children (SS. James, major and minor) in this picture were copied by *Raphael* in tempera on a gold ground.*

The great work by *Perugino*—the series of frescoes in the Sala del Cambio at Perugia—was completed about 1500. These bear the same relation to the master's fame as those in the Vatican do to that of *Raphael*. Here he has represented on the walls and ceiling of the Audience Hall a rich design, with Apollo in his chariot with four horses in the centre above. Around him are the presiding deities of the planets Jupiter, Mars, Saturn, Venus, Mercury, and Luna, with the signs of the Zodiac on their chariot wheels. They are enframed in arabesques which exhibit the fine taste in decoration peculiar to the Umbrian school. On the walls are the Nativity and Transfiguration, with the First Person of the Trinity presiding above—the Virtues and classic heroes on the left, the Prophets and the Sybils on the right. Here *Perugino* is seen in great perfection of colour, drawing, and drapery. The ceiling is supposed to have been executed by his pupils from his designs.† The master's own portrait is seen on one of the pilasters which divide the subjects; on an opposite pilaster is "anno salut: M.D."

The rapidity of *Perugino*'s labour is seen in another work of the same date (1500)—the Vallambrosa Assumption, now in the Accademia at Florence. The Madonna and the four Saints are among his finest creations. Another work which belongs to his best time is a Virgin and Child in

* This, perhaps the earliest work by the great master, is preserved in the sacristy of St. Pietro Maggiore, at Perugia.

† The close investigation by Signor Cavalcaselle leads him to surmise the assistance of *Raphael*, then between sixteen and seventeen years of age.

Glory with angels, and four saints below, now in the gallery at Bologna.

In 1502 *Perugino* executed the Resurrection of our Lord (see woodcut) for S. Francesco of Perugia. This is now in the Vatican, where it possesses a double interest as being believed to have been partly the work of *Raphael*.*

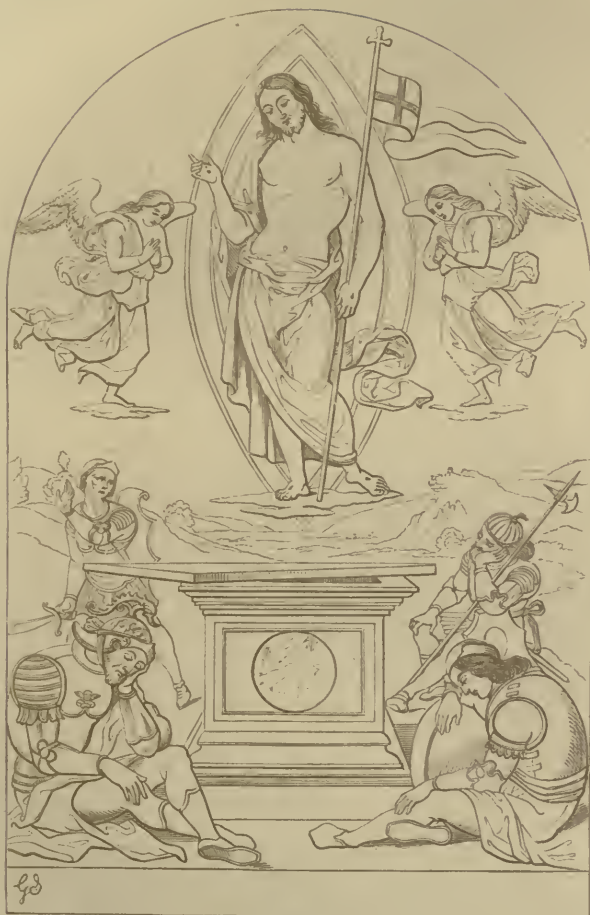
To the years 1504–1505 belong the wall paintings at Città della Pieve, and at Panicale. Those at Città della Pieve (S. Maria de' Bianchi) represent the Adoration of the Magi with numerous figures (see woodcut). This subject has beautiful parts, for instance, the Virgin and Child, though with all the master's weaknesses.†

The frescoes at Panicale, in the church of St. Sebastian, represent the martyrdom of that Saint. These are works of symmetrical composition and delicate tones, but are chiefly characteristic as being apparently painted on the dry wall, in the method called "secco." To about this time is attributed the *chef-d'œuvre* of the master, the Madonna of the Certosa at Pavia, now in the National Gallery, a production the more worthy of note, if it be true as Vasari says, that this was the period when *Michael Angelo* ridiculed the style of *Perugino* as "absurd and antiquated." In one sense, however, this picture may be viewed as one of the highest specimens of the reticence and intensity of expression proper to the Quattrocentisti.

It is supposed that *Perugino* removed from Florence to Perugia in 1506, where he produced a fine work, the Madonna and Child between SS. Jerome and Francis, now in the Palazzo Penna. Hence he was summoned, about 1507, by Julius II. to Rome, where, after working on the walls of the Camera del' Incendio, he was supplanted by his young scholar *Raphael*, who, however, from respect, it is believed, for his master, preserved four medallions on the ceiling with representations of the First Person of the Trinity.

* Crowe and Cavalcaselle rightly pronounce this assistance to consist more in a general working out of the whole picture upon *Perugino's* outlines, than in the execution of any particular figure.

† Sir C. L. Eastlake remarks on this fresco, "The graceful and sentimental old men are generally failures in *Perugino*. In youths his attitudes and airs are more appropriate, in women and children quite so." Città della Pieve, 1861.



THE RESURRECTION, by Pietro Perugino, Vatican



A.D.M.D.III



On *Perugino's* final return to Perugia, he gave himself up, like many painters of the time, to a mere mechanical dexterity, and worked principally for gain. He erected a large studio, in which several scholars were employed to execute commissions from his designs. He thus amassed a considerable fortune, but at the expense of his art, becoming even weak in colouring, which constitutes so great a part of his merit. In his later works, therefore, of which there are many in the churches of Perugia and in foreign galleries, the greatest uniformity and repetition of design prevail, with considerable inequality of execution, according as more or less gifted scholars were employed. His last works are strikingly weak; the Martyrdom of S. Sebastian, of the year 1518, in S. Francesco de' Conventuali, Perugia, may be mentioned as an example. Altogether, with the exception of the Cambio frescoes, this city possesses rather the inferior than the better specimens of the master. His later works are also scattered about the adjacent places. He executed frescoes at Frontignano as late as 1522, where he died of the plague.

Perugino's chief quality is his fine luminous colour, with a certain sentimental grace which pervades his school. But he is often tame and conventional, and his upturned heads, a favourite feature in his pictures, are ill foreshortened and frequently out of drawing.

Bernardo Pinturicchio was the son of Benedetto Biagio—born at Perugia, 1454—called after his father *di Betto* or *Betti*—from the lowness of his stature, *Pinturicchio*, or the little painter—and sometimes, from his deafness, "*il Sordichio*." He was the assistant of *Perugino*, and probably educated in the school of *Bonfigli*. Properly speaking, he is the historical painter of the Umbrian school, and in some respects, a more gifted artist than *Perugino*, whose earlier and more realistic Florentine type he greatly resembles. According to his conventional treatment of the department of expression, it would appear that he only superficially adopted the feeling of his colleague, without being really imbued with it. His chief peculiarity is seen in his varied conception of character, in which he marks the transition from the Umbrian school

to the Roman, as founded by *Raphael*, showing the decay of that spiritualism which especially distinguishes the former. "A less brilliant and subtle colourist than *Perugino*—less tender and religious in sentiment—he displays greater dramatic vigour and unity in his works."*

Of the earlier productions of *Pinturicchio* little is known. We find him first, as the assistant or colleague of *Perugino*, employed on the works of the Sistine Chapel. He was soon engaged on independent labours, and before he was thirty he had executed for Cardinal della Rovere and other dignitaries important frescoes in different chapels in S. Maria del Popolo. He was also employed by Innocent VIII. and Alexander VI. in decorating with frescoes various walls in the Castle of S. Angelo, and the new hall in the Vatican known as the "Appartamento Borgia." The former have perished, but of the Vatican suite five rooms are still preserved. The date 1494 appears on a *cartellino* on the ceiling of the fourth room. The frescoes of the sixth room were destroyed by Leo X. to make room for *Giovanni da Udine*, and *Perino del Vaga*. By order of Innocent VIII. he also painted the walls in the Belvedere, now called the Museo Clementino, with views of Italian cities, in the Flemish manner, now very imperfectly traceable. *Pinturicchio*'s best works at Rome are the decorations of the Cappella Bufalini in S. Maria Araceli—the first chapel on the right: they represent various scenes from the life of St. Bernard of Siena, and are slight and hard in execution, but full of expression and individual life. The four Evangelists are painted in this style on the vaulted roof, each with those conventional allusions (for example, St. John looking at his pen to see whether it be sharp enough) which recur so frequently in *Pinturicchio*. Other frescoes of uncertain date and much injured are added to the master's works in Rome—those on the ceiling of the Sacristy of St. Cecilia in Trastevere, and others in S. Croce in Gerusalemme—the latter doubtless by his school. Frescoes in S. Onofrio, a Coronation of the Virgin, and scenes from the Legend of the Cross are now given to *Peruzzi*. On the other hand

* 'The Frescoes by Bernardo Pinturicchio in the Collegiate Church of S. Maria Maggiore at Spello,' by Right Hon. A. H. Layard. Published by the Arundel Society, 1858.



MADONNA AND CHILD, WITH ANGELS AND DONOR; Altar-piece by Pinturicchio,
Chapel of Sacristy, Duomo Nuovo, S. Severino

we may mention a Madonna and Child in a chapel of the Palazzo de' Conservatori in the Capitol:* she is seated enthroned, fronting the spectator; her large mantle forms a grand cast of drapery; the Child, on her lap, sleeps in the loveliest attitude; she folds her hands and looks down, quiet, serious, and beautiful: in the clouds are two adoring angels.

During his labours in Rome, 1491-2, *Pinturicchio* was called to Orvieto to contribute to the decorations of the Cathedral, but whatever he executed there has been so neglected or injured, that, were it not for documentary evidence, it might be doubted whether he had painted there at all. *Pinturicchio* left Rome for Perugia in 1496, where his first and one of his finest works is an altar-piece in several compartments, executed for S. Anna, and now in the Academy. This picture displays, perhaps, more than any other of the Umbrian school, the peculiarly deep and pure feeling of *Niccolò Alunno*, united with a better knowledge of form and a more beautiful manner; in the heads especially the character and expression are conceived and rendered with the deepest feeling. Another fine specimen, now protected by a glass, is the Madonna and Child, with angels and donor (see woodcut), in the private chapel of the Sacristy in the Duomo Nuovo at S. Severino.

In 1500, then in his forty-sixth year, *Pinturicchio* commenced a series of frescoes in the collegiate church at Spello. These important works, though long forgotten and in no way exempted from the general maltreatment common to all art in Italy, have at all events not suffered the tender mercies of restoration, and are now rescued from oblivion by the labours of the Arundel Society. They consist of three subjects—the Annunciation above, with the Nativity and Dispute with the Doctors on each side below. In the Annunciation—a composition with rich architecture—is seen, as if suspended from the wall, and beneath a shelf on which volumes are lying, the portrait of the painter with his signature, and between a string of beads which hang from the frame are a palette and brush. On a pilaster in the same fresco is the

* Recently ascribed to *Ingegno*. See Passavant's 'Rafael,' vol. i. p. 501.

date 1501. The heads here are of a very different type to *Perugino's*—some of them very beautiful, and of a more delicate oval. The Nativity is the least successful, being scattered in composition. The angels singing above have all *Perugino's* grace. The Christ Disputing with the Doctors has much dignity and individuality, and is characteristic of the place held by the painter between *Perugino* and *Raphael*. On the left, in a group of figures, is the portrait of the Prior Trojolo Baglioni, the donor. He is in a long black robe, and attended by a priest with a purse in his hand. In the background is one of those polygonal domed buildings intended to typify the Temple of Jerusalem, which is introduced by *Perugino* in Christ's Charge to Peter in the Sistine Chapel, again in his *Sposalizio* at Caen, and by *Raphael* in his *Sposalizio* in the Brera.

The master was next engaged on what remains his most important monument, the decorations of the celebrated Libreria attached to the cathedral at Siena. These consist of a series of ten historical subjects from the life of Enea Silvio Piccolomini—Pope Pius II.* In some of them *Pinturicchio* was assisted, at all events in design, by the youthful *Raphael*, as proved by still existing drawings, one of which, representing the departure of Enea Silvio with Cardinal Capranico (see woodcut), is in the Uffizi. These drawings show a higher feeling than the pictures themselves. Nevertheless, there is much grace in single figures and in the general effect, set off as it is by a profusion of arabesques and architectural ornaments which render the Libreria the most perfect example existing of this class of Umbrian art. Some of the heads, and even whole figures, show the influence of *Perugino's* frescoes in the Cambio at Perugia. This great work, interrupted by many minor undertakings, was completed in 1507.

Later works in fresco were executed by *Pinturicchio* for Pandolfo Petrucci at Siena, the remnants of which—the History of Penelope and two others, sawn from the wall—are in the possession of Mr. Barker. The master's last authentic

* Engraved in the 'Raccolta delle più celebri pitture esistenti nella città di Siena, Firenze, 1825.'



work is a beautiful cabinet picture, the Procession to Calvary, now in the Casa Borromeo, at Milan, painted in 1513; in which year his life came to a tragic conclusion. For it is reported that, being ill, his wife ran away with a lover and left him to die of neglect and starvation. *Pinturicchio* never mastered the use of oil, but remained true to the system of tempera. Amongst his pictures on panel are the Assumption of the Virgin, in the gallery of the Studj at Naples; and the Madonna and Child, and the donor—half-length figures in a rich landscape—in the Sacristy of S. Agostino at S. Severino; also a large Adoration of the Kings, and a graceful Madonna and Child, in the Berlin Museum.

Another name which has been included among the assistants of *Perugino* and the companions of *Raphael* is that of *Andrea Allovizi*, called *L'Ingegno*. Vasari's account of him teems with chronological errors, and modern research has elicited no proof of his existence as a painter. In the words of Sir Charles Eastlake, "*Ingegno* remains a mystery. The Sybils in the lower church of Assisi, usually quoted as his work, are much later in date, and are possibly, like the rest of the frescoes, by *Adone Doni*." Various pictures, more or less weak, of a Peruginesque class, bear his name, though in no instance founded on signature or other certain data.

Next to *Raphael*, the most distinguished of *Perugino*'s undoubted scholars is the Spaniard, *Giovanni di Pietro*, called *Lo Spagna*. There is no record of his birth, or of the period when he joined *Perugino*. His style is a mixture of the Peruginesque and Raphaelesque, which alternately predominate, and are always carried out with conscientious finish and delicacy. There is also evidence of his power of imitation, in his adoption, as certain localities gave him opportunity, of the manner of *Ghirlandajo*'s school, and of *Fra Filippo Lippi*. Upon the whole, he shows the greatest affinity to *Perugino*, whose influence is seen strongly impressed on frescoes painted as late as 1526-27. One of *Lo Spagna*'s earliest pieces, though undated, is a Nativity executed for the Convent at Todi and now in the Vatican.

A charming early specimen of his hand in the gallery at Rovigo is called a *Perugino*. In 1507 he is proved to have undertaken a Coronation of the Virgin for the church of the Riformati at Todi. He repeated the same subject, and in most respects the same composition, for the Franciscans of S. Martino at Trevi, in 1511. An Assumption in the mortuary chapel of the same convent is one of his finest works. Of great excellence also is an Entombment in the church of the Madonna delle Lagrime near Trevi. Two canvases in the same church, containing the single figures of St. Catherine of Alexandria, and of St. Cecilia, are finely drawn, especially the head and hands of St. Catherine, and are redolent of *Raphael*. *Lo Spagna's* best picture, painted 1516, is in the chapel of S. Stefano, in S. Francesco at Assisi, representing the Madonna enthroned, with three Saints on each side. These are grand and severe figures, but full of genuine feeling and purity, and remarkable for grace and nobleness. That which is so attractive in the early pictures of *Raphael* is here followed out in the happiest manner. In the Stanza di S. Francesco, in the choir of the church Degli Angeli at Assisi, he painted a number of portraits of Saints, chiefly of the Franciscan Order, in varied action, and in fine drawing and colour. *Spagna's* chief residence was at Spoleto, where he has left numerous frescoes, scenes from the life of S. Jacopo, in the church of that name between Spoleto and Fuligno. Some of the latest of these show great feebleness. Evidences of his industry appear in frescoed churches at Eggi and at Gavelli, near Spoleto; the Coronation of the Virgin being the subject most in demand from his hand. His death occurred in 1533.*

The name of *Jacopo Siculo* appears as a follower of *Lo Spagna*; he was also his son-in-law. A signed picture, of a Raphaellesque character, dated 1538, is in the church of S. Mamigliano at Spoleto.

* Various pictures which have hitherto borne the name of *Raphael* are now ascribed to *Lo Spagna*. Among these Messrs. Crowe & Cavalcaselle include the tempera and much injured altar-piece called the Ancajani Raphael (see woodcut) in the Berlin Museum. The so-called *Raphael* in Mr. Thomas Baring's fine gallery is attributed alternately to *Lo Spagna* and to *Eusebio di S. Giorgio*.

Another scholar of *Perugino*, *Eusebio di S. Giorgio*, shows the influence of *Pinturicchio*, and also sometimes emulates *Lo Spagna* in the imitation of *Raphael's* early works. The Adoration of the Kings in the Chapel of the Epiphany in S. Agostino, Perugia, dated 1505 or 1506, is powerfully and lively conceived. Two frescoes in the cloisters of S. Damiano at Assisi, an Annunciation, and St. Francis receiving the Stigmata (1507), are finely understood, and full of life and grand effect. His best work is the altar-piece in the Franciscan church at Matellica, signed, and dated 1512. This is imbued with the study of *Raphael*, for instance, in the little Baptist seated in the centre below. The heads and extremities of all the figures are admirable in drawing, modelling and colour. The predella picture shows a combination of *Raphael*, *Perugino*, and *Pinturicchio*. No later works by *Eusebio* are known, though he lived considerably beyond that time.

The other scholars of *Perugino*, with whose works the churches of Perugia and the neighbouring country overflow, imitated his manner, without, however, rivalling him in feeling, or power of colouring. Among these may be mentioned *Giannicola (Manni)*: an altar-piece by him, consisting of a clever series of figures, is in the Academy at Perugia; another is over the high altar of S. Tommaso, in the same town. The names of *Berto di Giovanni*, *Tiberio d' Assisi*, *Francesco Melanzio*, *Sinibaldo Ibi*, *Giovanni Battani Caporali*, and *Girolamo Genga* may be added to the last. Here may be also mentioned *Gerino da Pistoia*, a follower of *Perugino* and friend of *Pinturicchio*. His name and the date 1502 are on a Madonna del Soccorso—the Virgin saving a Child from the Evil Spirit, while the mother kneels in prayer—in S. Agostino in Borgo S. Sepolcro; but the picture is too poor to serve as an example. Fragments of fresco in and about Borgo S. Sepolcro, show a warm colourist. This quality is also seen in an altar-piece in S. Pietro Maggiore at Pistoia, dated 1509.

Giovanni Battista da Faenza, called *Bertucci*, was another painter influenced by *Perugino* and *Pinturicchio*, and who has also an affinity in his gilt architecture and colossal

arabesques to *Marco Palmezzano*. A signed altar-piece, dated 1506, in four pieces, is in the Faenza Gallery. It has much merit, especially the profile of the little St. John below with adoring hands. A Ferrarese character is also discernible in *Bertucci* "and the monkey (*bertuccio*) introduced into pictures by *Ercole Grandi*, the Ferrarese master, suggests the possibility of *Bertuccio* having studied with him." * *Adone Doni* at first followed the same general style, but afterwards adopted that of the Roman school formed by *Raphael*. A graceful Adoration of the Kings in his first manner is in S. Pietro at Perugia. † *Domenico di Paris Alfani*, and his son *Orazio*, are of the same class. *Domenico's* name was associated in friendship with the youthful *Raphael* at Perugia, and the letter to him from the great master, with a sketch of the Borghese Entombment at the back, is preserved in the Wicat Collection at Lille. He and his son *Orazio* both equally copied the designs of *Raphael*. In this respect the Madonna and Child, in our woodcut, strongly recal the Orleans *Raphael* in the late Mr. Rogers' collection. In their later works, in which it is difficult to distinguish father from son, the influence of *Il Rosso Fiorentino*, who fled to Perugia at the sack of Rome, is discernible. They are found working together on a Crucifixion, with SS. Jerome and Apollonia, as late as 1533, in which year *Domenico* is believed to have died. A graceful and highly finished Holy Family either by *Domenico* or *Orazio* is in the tribune of the Uffizi.

Lastly, we find among *Perugino's* scholars the Florentines *Francesco Ubertini*, surnamed *Il Bacchiacca*, who usually painted small pictures with numerous figures, and *Rocco Zoppo*, whose peculiar hardness reminds us of his relation *Marco Zoppo*, with whom he was perhaps professionally associated. An Adoration of the Shepherds, inscribed with *Rocco's* name, is in the Berlin Museum.

Long after the death of *Perugino*, until the latter half of the sixteenth century, the painters of Perugia imitated his

* Memorandum by Sir C. L. Eastlake, Faenza, 1858.

† *Adone Doni* painted some Sibyls in S. Francesco, at Assisi, late in the sixteenth century. It has been sometimes erroneously asserted that *Raphael* imitated them, but they were executed long after the great artist's death.—C. L. E.



HOLY FAMILY, by Domenico di Paris Alfani



manner and elung to his modes of conception, when the intrusion of a few artists of a naturalistic tendency at once put an end to these feeble remains of a once great and admirable aim.

We must here introduce a painter equal in rank to *Perugino*; namely, *Francesco di Marco Raibolini*, commonly called *Il Francia*—born at Bologna about 1450, died 1517. So strong an affinity exists between him and *Perugino* in period, in treatment both of tempera and oil, in tenderness of feeling, and in class of subject, that he is justly included among the Umbrians. Of *Francia's* education in art, little is known. He was apprenticed to a goldsmith in Bologna, and became steward to the Goldsmith's Guild there in 1483. It has been asserted that he turned his attention to painting at an advanced age; at all events, he was master of his art by the time he was forty years old. It is believed that *Lorenzo Costa*, a Ferrarese painter who frequented Bologna, though younger than *Francia*, and surmised to have been his pupil, gave him instruction in the secrets of colour. *Mantegna* also visited Bologna in 1472, but the fact that pictures by *Perugino* were seen in Bologna towards the close of the fifteenth century accounts probably for the Umbrian tendency of *Francia's* works. His early pictures, one of which—the Madonna, Child, and St. Joseph, painted for Bartolommeo Bianchini—is in the Berlin Museum, show the hand of a goldsmith in the clear outline, the metallic and polished surface, and minutia of detail. These characteristics were afterwards modified, though never entirely lost, in a higher development of pictorial feeling, while his signature “Aurifex,” is to the latest date seldom absent from any of his more important productions. To the period between 1490 and 1500 belong the Madonna with six Saints, and the portrait of the donor, Bartolommeo Felicini, now in the Gallery of Bologna—the beautiful Madonna and Child with Angels, formerly in the Zambeccari Collection, now at Munich—and the Annunciation at the Brera. *Francia* was patronised by Giovanni Bentivoglio, then paramount in Bologna, and for him he executed, in 1499, the large altar-piece in the Bentivoglio Chapel in S. Jacopo Maggiore,

Bologna, representing the Virgin and Child with SS. Florian Augustin, John Evangelist, and Sebastian, and Angels playing on musical instruments below, and in adoration on each side. This is one of his *chefs-d'œuvre* for harmony and depth of colour, and fulness of expression. The group of the Virgin and Child here forms one of his most beautiful creations, and the figure of St. Sebastian one of his grandest. Another masterpiece in the Bologna Gallery—Virgin and Child, Angels and Saints—was also executed for a Bentivoglio, whose portrait, like that of Bartolommeo. Felcini, shows his mastery in this walk of art. The predella to this work by *Lorenzo Costa*, proves the friendship between the two painters. *Francia's* productions are too numerous to specify. The gallery of Bologna contains a rich series of them. As his art matured, the grace both of expression and composition increased. The Coronation of the Virgin in the Duomo at Ferrara, the Assumption at S. Frediano, Lucca, a Nativity in the Museum at Forlì, however unequal in parts, are all examples of his power of spiritual expression combined with gem-like colour. These qualities attain their utmost perfection in the picture with lunette in the National Gallery, formerly in the Buonvisi Chapel in S. Frediano, Lucca. The little Baptist, at the foot of the throne on which are seated the Madonna and St. Anna, pointing upwards, is one of the purest creations of art; while the Madonna in the lunette Pietà is a pathetic reality both in age and expression such as no other painter has brought forth. The period of this refined maturity of grace in *Francia* corresponds with that of the friendship between himself and the youthful *Raphael*, suggested to have commenced in 1505-6, when *Raphael* proceeded from Florence to Urbino, probably taking Bologna on his way, and further testified by letters which passed between them in 1508.

Francia also transferred all his grace and sweetness into the art of fresco, the only surviving specimens of which are in the oratory of S. Cecilia at Bologna, a series illustrating the life of that Saint, and executed in conjunction with *Lorenzo Costa* in 1509. Two of these are by *Francia*—

St. Cecilia's marriage with St. Valerian, and her entombment.* These are readily distinguishable from the rest by their exquisite purity and nobility of feeling, and by the harmony of lines and colour. The whole series have been subjected to neglect and injury of the most sordid description.

We have alluded to *Francia's* power over portraiture. The fine portrait of Vangelista Scappi in the Uffizi, is highly Peruginesque. Another, in the Louvre, long called a *Raphael*, and supposed to represent *Timoteo della Vite*—scholar of *Francia* in 1491—is now adjudged to the master. To *Francia* also Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle assign the fine portrait of a man of about forty years of age in the Lichtenstein Gallery, Vienna, long admired as a *Raphael*. *Francia* is also recorded to have excelled in female portraits.† No painter certainly has given greater sweetness and beauty to his Madonna heads. His power of rendering the tenderest and pearliest female complexion is unsurpassed, and a delicate carnation given to the eyelids, even in his heads of youths, which is one of the characteristics of the hand, in no way impairs the beauty of his type. The much injured *Pictà* in the Turin Gallery bears date 1515. A signed small Madonna and Child in the collection of Baron Speck, Lutschena, near Leipsic, bears his latest date, 1517. Much of *Francia's* charm is still seen here. He died in the first days of 1518. The story given by Vasari that his death was caused by envy and mortification at the sight of *Raphael's* St. Cecilia, on the arrival of that picture in Bologna—1514–16—is, like too many by the inaccurate historian, proved to be devoid of truth.‡ A sonnet addressed by *Francia* to *Raphael*, shows feelings of an opposite kind.§

* Engraved for the Arundel Society.

† Calvi, sonnet by Gio. Cano, p. 54.

‡ Respecting this much-disputed question, see the German translation of *Vasari*, vol. ii. p. 353. That *Francia* did not die of envy is sufficiently proved by his unvarying friendly intercourse with *Raphael*, as well as from the enthusiastic sonnet he addressed to him. See same volume, p. 350. A beautiful specimen of *Francia's* sweetest composition and colour—Saints adoring the Trinity—is preserved, or rather is decaying, within the Baptistery of S. Giovanni Evangelista in Brescia.

§ See Malvasia 'Felsina Pittrice,' vol. i. p. 46.

On the other hand, it is easy to believe a saying imputed to *Raphael*, that *Francia's* Madonnas were the most devoutly beautiful he knew. The master's type of the Madonna head was frequently imitated by his scholars, and not all the works ascribed to him in collections were really by his own hand. Among his best scholars, his cousin and son, *Giulio* and *Giacomo Francia*, may be mentioned; they continued to practise the manner of the master, but never equalled him in beauty and dignity, nor in depth of expression. Numerous pictures by them are in the Berlin Museum, the Gallery at Bologna, and other places. *Amico Aspertini*, another artist from the school of *Francia*, was a capricious and fantastical painter; he united the manner of his master with that of the school of Ferrara. A pleasing fresco by him, *Diana and Endymion*, with shepherds conversing in front, is in the Palazzo della Viola at Bologna. Two of his pictures are also in the Berlin Museum. His brother *Guido Aspertini* resembles him, but is less wild. An Adoration of the Kings by him, in the Gallery at Bologna, is an agreeable picture, though somewhat fantastical. He also contributed the subject of the decapitation of SS. Valerian and Tiburtius in the series of frescoes in S. Cecilia, Bologna, which are almost obliterated. He also painted frescoes in S. Frediano, Lucca.

An account of *Lorenza Costa*, believed to have been *Francia's* pupil, will be given under the Ferrarese masters influenced by *Mantegna*. Of *Timoteo della Vite*, undoubtedly a scholar of *Francia*, but later an assistant of *Raphael*, more will be said under the school of the great master.

The school of Siena, also, which, before its total decline in the first half of the fifteenth century, had acted upon the Umbrian, now received an impulse back again from that school, which, with other influences, led to its partial revival about the beginning of the sixteenth century.* Its sweetness, insipidity, and mechanical tendency have been set forth in these pages. In its later phase it remained true to itself, never throwing off the trammels of its local character,

* See 'Raccolta delle più celebri pitture esistenti nella città di Siena: Firenze, 1825.'

though showing the influence of the general development of art in the great centres of Italy, and the impress of individual painters. Sienese artists also travelled to foreign parts, yet no infusion of foreign elements ever entirely sufficed to wear out the Sienese type.

Bernardino Fungai is a Sienese painter who, in flatness, absence of chiaroscuro, and use of gilding, partakes of the school. But he is rather pleasing in his children and angels, where he is influenced by *Perugino*; also in his landscapes, which, though peculiar in their faint blue distance, recal *Pinturicchio*. His type of Madonna head is insipid, and his male heads dry and poor. A characteristic of the master is the heaviness of his hands at the fingers' ends. The Coronation of the Virgin in the church of the Madonna di Fonte Giusta, Siena, is an average example of the painter. He is also numerously represented in the Sienese Academy. *Fungai* sometimes slightly resembles the *Vivarini*. He died in 1516.

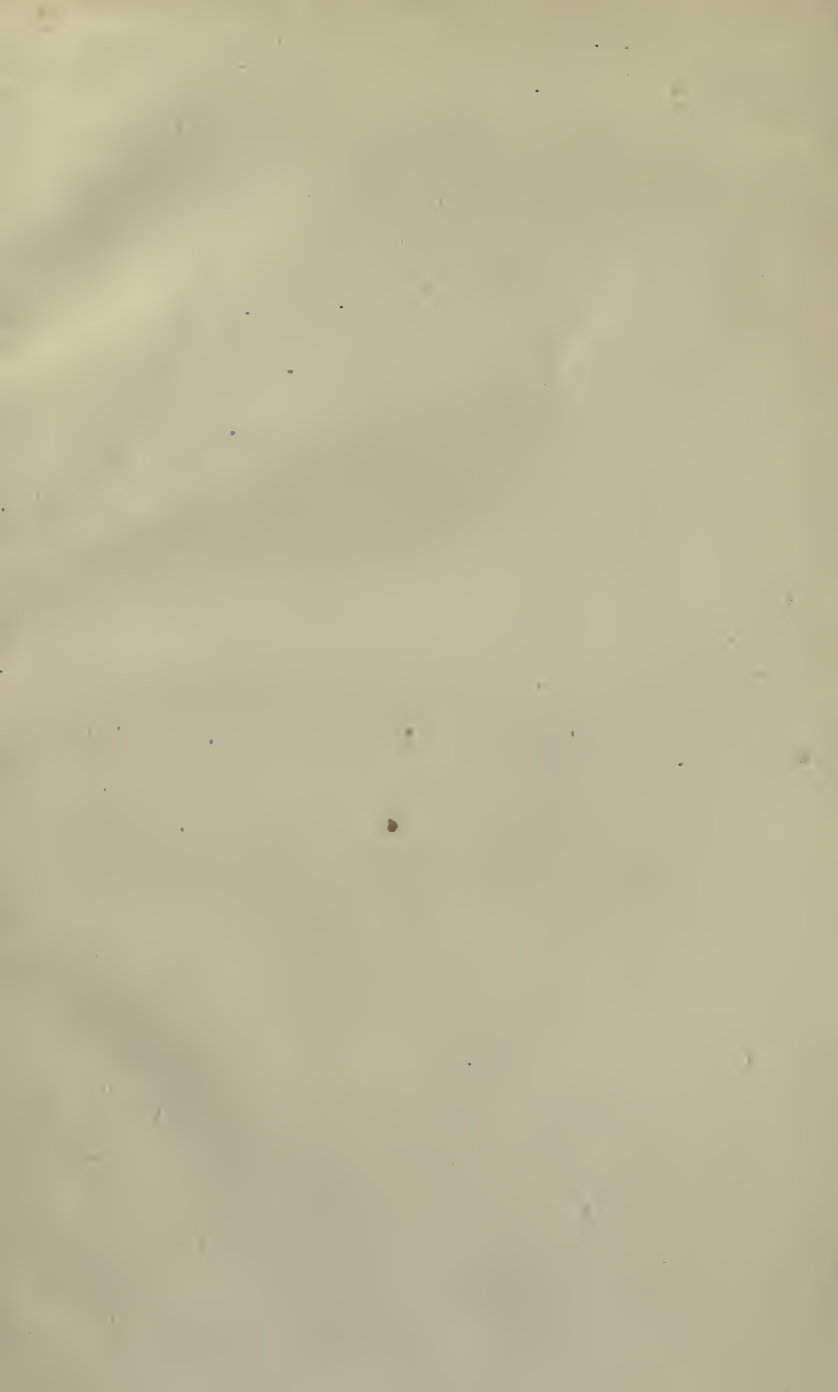
Giacomo di Bartolommeo Pacchiarotto, born 1474, died 1540, is another painter of mixed character, more or less grafted on the Sienese stock. More is known of his life, which was a troubled one, than of his works. An Ascension in the Carmine, Siena, as well as several pictures in the Academy, are attributed to him. He is not only confounded by historians with *Girolamo del Pacchia*, but the similarity of their art has assisted to keep up the mistake.

Del Pacchia, born 1477, is known to have been early in Rome, and the works believed to be his bear a strong *Rafaelesque*, and even Florentine impress. They are chiefly found in and near Siena. The Coronation of the Virgin in S. Spirito, is an example of his tendency towards the *Rafaelesque* school. The Madonna and Child between SS. Paul and Bernard, in the Sienese Academy, partakes of the character of *Mariotto Albertinelli*, and even of that of *Fra Bartolommeo*, which effectually conceals the Sienese type. In 1518, *Del Pacchia* took part with *Beccafumi* and *Razzi* in the frescoes in S. Bernardino, Siena. We give a specimen in our woodcut, showing that mixed character which precluded the formation of a consistent style. He also

contributed three frescoes to the church of S. Caterina, illustrating the story of St. Catherine of Siena, who is represented journeying to Monte Pulciano to visit S. Agnese. The third of the series, with the dead body of S. Agnese, is the most remarkable. The Virgin and Child in the National Gallery, an agreeable picture with Siennese characteristics, hitherto given to *Pacchiarotto*, is now assigned to *Del Pacchia*.

Andrea Puccinelli del Bresciano, is another name of this Siennese period—about 1520—to whom an altar-piece in the Academy is assigned.

After this time a new tendency ensued in Siennese art in the person of *Gianantonio Razzi*, commonly called *Il Sodoma*, who stands on a far higher level, and will be described further on.





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